Bancroft, Clinton

The Conspiracy of Capital

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The

Conspiracy of Capital

By CLINTON BANCROFT.

"Be what there may behind, I lift the veil."

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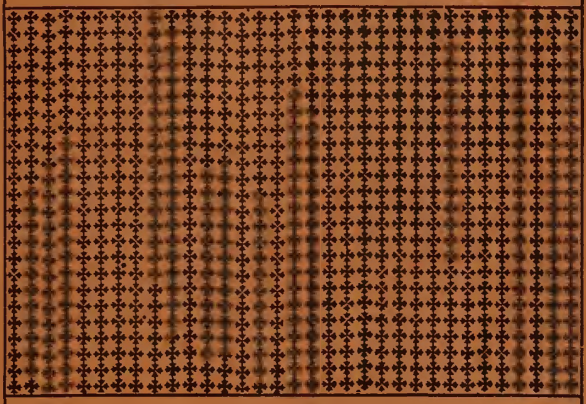

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THE CONSPIRACY OF CAPITAL.

"Be what there may behind, I lift the veil."

CLINTON BANCROFT.

1901.
PUBLISHED BY
J A. WAYLAND,
GIRARD, KAS.

Press of Appeal to Reason.

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The Conspiracy of Capital.

CHAPTER I.

THE REIGN OF CONFLICT.

UPON justice in material things, must justice in all things else at last depend. This is the primal law of social life, the foundation principle of order and government among men. Man's first right is here, and here, his first duty—to secure this justice for himself, to render it sacredly to others. Let this law be first obeyed and "all things else shall be added unto you," life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Let it be denied and the power of oppression at once raises his dark form upon the earth. The principle involves the very right of existence itself. Upon things material life itself depends. Food, raiment, shelter—upon the power to secure these, and upon the right to just access to the means of procuring them, practically depend all other human rights and powers. To limit or destroy this right or this power, is to affect vitally every other right and power of man.

To attack this primal law has always been to precipitate a conflict. To succeed in the attack has always resulted in the death of the vanquished or his subjugation, diseased dependence and mental and moral degradation. To resist such attacks is therefore an inherent and instinctive right, necessary, inalienable and never to be destroyed. It may be subdued, become dormant and latent, but occasion and opportunity ever revive it again into full activity. Therefore it is declared that this principle of justice in material things is the primal law, not only of physical life itself, but by virtue thereof is the foundation principle of social order as well.

To violate it, then; to pass the right and duty it involves, to go on to others, social, moral or religious, however grand, noble or inspiring, is but to pass from disappointment to disappointment, from failure to failure and to go on to endless conflict, to anarchy and final chaos.

The history of mankind has been but the long and bloody

record of this last truth, written and rewritten again and again in the ceaseless dissensions among men, the fall of empires and the degradations of peoples. The riots, the rebellions, the wars, the revolutions of the past and the present have been and are in the largest part but the thunderings of this outraged law. And today, to see the results of its awful transgressing, we have but to look forth upon the condition that confronts organized mankind everywhere throughout the world.

Let us pause for a moment and see what that condition is.

With us, its proudest exponents, it is labeled civilization. But lift the covering of a name and look upon the naked thing beneath and behold! chaos, surcharged with the spirit of hell. Bend low and peer beneath the veil again and see! a world strife, an universal struggle, unnatural conflict, never ceasing, merciless and pitiless; a seething multitude desperately fighting each other, with hearts black with deadly cunning, ferocity, distrust, envy, jealousy and hatred; an agony of fear, hope, despair possessing them, yet strange to say each bears, some high aloft, some trailing in the dust, a banner flaunting these mottoes, "Do unto others as ye would others should do unto you," and "Love thy neighbor as thyself;" but, however borne, the bearers fight each other with equal fierceness.

Behold knowledge and strength, civilized! christianized! Knowledge and strength pushing ignorance and weakness to the wall, riding upon their necks, living upon their blood, trampling them beneath their feet! See the sacred power to serve itself demanding servitude! See the myriad bands of despoiled labor, rank on rank, crowding, driving each other to the slave blocks of the masters of capital, the capital itself or Nature has created, battling with each other for the privilege, and him who fails an outcast and a criminal, perishing miserably or living a life more dreadful than death itself. Behold, selfishness enthroned! faith, its jester! hope, its purveyor! charity, its hypocrite!

Turn where we will, we see appalling evidences of wasted energies, perverted power and prostituted opportunity. Everywhere we see conflict where there should be peace; mastership where there should be brotherhood; poverty where there should be competence; oppression where there should be generous service. Distortion, deformity, retroversion, everywhere

greet the senses of order and right condition. Violence rules the affairs of men, the violence, not so much of actual physical force, as the violence of vantage, fraud and indirection, the violence of irresponsible power working through conventional forms and customs founded when might made right and the animal reigned in man.

Industrial and social conditions today, no less than in times past, present the shameful and awful spectacle of a world, the current of whose ethics both of reason and religion runs counter to its industrial and social practices, whose natural laws are superseded by contradicting customs and whose golden rule, the fundamental principle of social order is practically declared both by its prophets and its people in its primal and only vital application, absurd and impossible to the last degree.

To turn from "glittering generalities" to a few of the most glaring facts, we are confronted with actual conditions so universally and inevitably presaging national degeneration, so distinctly premonitory of social ruin, that patriotic men and women, the friends of liberty and human advancement, may well stand appalled at the prospect.

Take this astounding and incredible fact and consider well all what it means.

Oout of eighty millions of our population more than fifty millions are absolutely landless, homeless and without means of employment except as the owners of these priceless and necessary things have given access to them. Let the few legal owners and credit-holders of the land, the homes, the factories, the mills, and all the thousand means and machinery of production, exercise their "legal" rights in concert for a moment and bid their dependents move on—and what examples of despotism or chattel slavery in the past could equal the spectacle that would be presented by this possible modern exercise of lawful authority? Be merciful and let this mighty throng of dependent people keep their places, even at the light tenure of their master's will; let them still toil and sweat to buy their never paid up "right" to a foot-hold upon the earth, to their "places" in its workshops and mines, its fields and factories and offices, to their access to the means of producing their food, raiment and shelter, and still there are more

than three millions of men for whom there are no places, no employment, no access to anything but such cold alms as may be thrown them; and these, the terror of the "place-holders," the employed, are ever increasing. Every advance of science over the forces of Nature, and of art over muscular power, every development of the organizing faculty, every addition to the sum of human knowledge affecting material things, but adds to the number of this great concourse of permanently unemployed and increases the terror of the "place-holders" above them, next ready to fall into their ranks, and intensifies the already great and widespread uneasiness of society in general. This is the most significant phenomenon of modern times and the most ominous of direful consequences.

When the very forces that should make for social order, man's happiness and general improvement, make for the direct opposites—social ruin, misery and retrogression; when increasing knowledge means increasing evils; when developing powers and faculties mean developing despotism and oppression; when progress means progressive poverty and degradation of the masses, surely it is time to change the direction of our progress and power and knowledge. What could better show the ill-adaptedness of ancient, industrial and social systems to modern conditions; nay, what could more clearly demonstrate the inherent evil of those old ways of doing things and the irremedial viciousness of their effects on human progress.

CHAPTER II.

THE REIGN of CAPITAL.

AFTER thousands of years of historic intellectual and moral development, governmental and industrial organization and material improvement, we find no substantial advancement in the condition of the great mass of mankind. After nineteen centuries under the light of the Golden Rule, after five centuries of planetary expansion adding three-quarters of the globe to the habitable regions of civilized man, after two centuries of the greatest agitation of the rights of man and the most wonderful extension of human dominion over the powers of nature and the application of them to the production of wealth, so that one man may feed a thousand; after all this, want and misery and their consequent physical and moral degradation have not decreased in intensity among the masses of the people, actual liberty has made but little progress, and the reign of capital, wilder yet, and yet more pitiless, still goes on. Irresponsible power still exploits the masses in the only field ever worth its while—the industrial—marshals them in contending hosts, and parcels its spoil, human and other, among its favorites. The barons of commerce and trade and industry still lord it over the people, exacting service, levying tribute, and dispensing judgment of happiness and misery, life and death at pleasure. Their retinues of retainers and conscripts, royal in their multitude, would shame the feudal lords of old, nay, the kings and despots of the most slavish times. As it ever has been, labor is still the drudge of capital ownership, and the common people still but the pawns of irresponsible power.

Three thousand men control over half the wealth of the country—wealth that the kingdoms of the past rolled together would not equal. Think of it, you men who labor, and ponder well what it means. A handful of your fellow creatures with rights no greater than those of any common man, controlling access to one-half the people's means of earning a living! standing guard over one-half of the producing means

of the nation; and this the dominant half, the great monopolized industries, the trusts, the public corporations, that practically have the power to tax at will the other half of our producing capital and the labor therein employed; and this other half, the subservient half, under the direct ownership and control of another small body of men, a few hundred thousand or so! Think what it means, ye lovers of liberty, who are striving for greater political power for the masses! Think of it, ye philanthropists, who are striving for the uplift of humanity! Ponder it well, ye moralists, who would purify and ennoble and broaden the lines of the multitude. The fountain of physical life owned and controlled, legally, lawfully, owned and controlled by the few! Millions with no "right" to a foot of the earth except as a few may grant it to them! Millions without even an opportunity to labor except as the few may permit! Millions dependent for food, raiment and shelter upon the artificial "rights" of a handful of their fellows; after that, what meaning or value have these inalienable rights of the constitution, the "right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness?" After that, what meaning or value has personal freedom, constitutional authority, political privilege, or moral opportunity? After that, what meaning or value have noble ideals, pure aspirations, or right ambitions? Stand between the multitude and their means of life, deny them the right to justice in material things, and what meaning or value have all these other rights and privileges about which so much sentiment is expended in poetry and eloquence and song? Look at our national condition today, and see what meaning they have. Individual freedom chained to industrial servitude. Constitutional authority, the tool of private capital; political privilege the mockery and shame of the people, and moral opportunity dwarfed and destroyed by material necessities.

In the industrial world we find an industrial system, which, differing practically in no wise from that of all times past, has developed conditions relatively not better, but worse than ever before in the history of the world. For under greater moral enlightenment, it still reverses every principle of justice, equity and morality. Now, as formerly, it is unprofitable to work. To labor is still the one thing men cannot afford to do. The God-made land is still abandoned for

man-made cities. Men crowd to the non-productive occupations. The trade of the parasite is the one most honored and profitable; the trade of the producer, the most despised and unrewarded. Still labor builds the palace and lives in the hovel, still weaves the silk and wears the rags, still produces the food of life and luxury and is forbidden to partake. Still it plows and sows and reaps, and still the grain disappears from its grasp. The primal injustice still prevails. Past it the world may not proceed. In every field of social endeavor progress is but as a treadmill until this fundamental wrong is righted. The rights of labor are foundation rights upon which alone social order exists. Evil there is evil everywhere, and conflict there is conflict throughout the realm of organized mankind.

In the political world the same mad carnival of evil therefore prevails that exists in the industrial. In its condition we see the most notable illustration of the truth of our primal law—upon justice in material things must justice in all things else at last depend. Its violation is the fundamental wrong; and no social, political or moral ideals can ever be built upon such a wrong. Evil here is corruption of the fountain, and its waters can never be purified by any application of rights, privileges, duties or ideals further down the stream.

Our attempt to engraft political democracy upon an industrial despotism, to exercise political rights before possessing industrial rights, to inaugurate a just political government before a just industrial government, to make political power responsible to the people and leave industrial power to any irresponsible hand that may be able to grasp it, to have political freedom flow from industrial dependence, has been but to poison good with evil, to expect truth from error, to hope incorruption from corruption. Popular politics is but the political statement of industrial conditions, and in the terms of that statement it is anarchy where it is not already despotism, and corrupting conflict where there is not already foul subjugation. Popular government does not exist. Suffrage is our mockery and shame. The people are practically as powerless to effect their will in government in any vital matter as are the subjects of the czar or the sultan. Capital-ownership rules—rules as it always has done, as it always will do; rules in the hands of the few, by force or by fraud as it necessarily

must. With us as yet, it rules by fraud, by indirection, corruption and downright defiance of statutes and constitutions. From hustings to office, all is a wild orgie of deceit, trickery, debauchery and corruption. Parties, platforms, suffrage—are the baubles of the people and keep them amused. Courts, councils, legislatures, congresses and executives, ostensibly from the people, are but the outward show; the real power that governs is the ownership of organized capital. For the ownership of organized capital controls the production and distribution of material things and control of these means control of life, distribution of affluence, competence and poverty.

Rule it must, necessarily and inevitably, by direction or indirection, by force or fraud, if the few are the owners. And when fraud fails, force is ever ready at its hand, and force is to be forthcoming withal. It needs must come. Indirection fails at last. Poverty grows. The army of the defrauded multiplies. The "monster with the many heads" must be controlled, and ownership is marshalling "authority" to enforce the needed control. The signs are many and certain. Constitutions and statutes and court decrees are even now being stealthily and rapidly shaped to that end. Authority already well knows its master. The great labor centers today are practically under marshal surveillance. No pretext is left unused to increase the army and navy, to build and equip arms and ordnance plants, to enlarge barracks and to make things safe generally. The means of transportation and communication are under especial charge. Despotic censorship is a living fact. Freedom of speech is already curtailed. The free press no longer exists. Industrial coercion has been joined to fraud, and open force now comes in the train of both. The political must ever come to the level of the industrial. Conflict and despotism in industry means despotism and chaos in government. Imperialism has succeeded democracy.

CHAPTER III.

THE REIGN OF UNREASON.

AS the industrial shapes the political, so does it mold the moral status of a people. No sublime truths, no regenerating principles, no high ideals can make any great practical progress nor effect any general concrete results among industrial dependents, taking them in mass and as a whole. The ground current is in the wrong direction. Injustice in material things forbids development in every faculty of our being. It nullifies all right effort. Erected into a system and molded into a law, its influence is so deadly and paralyzing as to destroy all practical understanding and appreciation of the highest ethical principles. So erosive and corrupting is its power, that after two thousand years of agitation, admiration and worship of the most profound ethical ideal in the universe, its most enlightened and conscientious devotees among its priests and apostles as well as laymen, calmly and unquestioningly accept conditions and conform to systems which not only directly destroy and make impossible that ideal, but which daily and hourly results in the most appalling and far-reaching misery, inhumanity and crime. Nay, not only do they accept and conform to such conditions and systems, but they actively defend, conserve and extend them. Glorifying service, they dishonor it in practice; preaching brotherhood, they practice mastership; deifying love, they daily profane it in their lives. Coming up from the realm of material things the same reign of conflict and chaos prevails in the moral world as in the industrial. Professions and practice clash. Hypocrisy holds high revel. The people draw aloof from the church. The anchors of society and social life drag. A noted writer, summing up the situation, says:

"The note of desperation sounds through the tumult of our lives in the twilight of the waning century as a prophecy of the coming night. Everywhere we observe this spirit translating itself into acts and phenomena. In religion, the repair of creeds outworn, the resurrection of the crude and discarded beliefs of antiquity and the piecing of new ones from the old.

In politics, the spirit of anarchism, corruption and despotism. In industry, monstrous animosities and destructive struggles between labor and capital; and through it all, wild aspirations and insane reachings for impossible advantage. In literature, it manifests itself in realism; in art, impressionalism; and in both as much else as is false and extravagant as it is possible to name. In morals it has gone to the length of denying the expediency of morality—everywhere a wild welter of action, of thought and a cutting loose from all that is conservative and restraining—a reign of unreason."

And yet the earth is fair to look upon and exceeding generous to man. Her springtime and harvest never faileth. Her stores are inexhaustible. The machinery and science of man applied to nature and its products may in three months produce enough to supply all abundantly for a year. With a modicum of the labor now expended and wasted, each could be furnished with a mansion, be arrayed in "purple and fine linen and feast sumptuously every day." Nay, it is passing easy to provide all royally and to repletion with all things reasonable to be desired; so easy, that even now, illy organized as industry is today, a syndicate of trusts might well undertake and guarantee to do all this and do it well; and some day it will be so done; but the syndicate will be the syndicate of the people and its operation will be called government.

But if so easy why the awful condition of today? Why is labor that produces the bread, the raiment and the shelter for the world, hungry, naked and paying rent for the privilege of occupying a place on the earth, while those who labor not, have all? Why turns the toiler cold with the fear of losing his job, and why does his heart stand still with terror when he has lost it? Why the nameless dread of tomorrow in a million hearts today? Why the glutted markets and barns bursting with plenty, and the pinched, ill-fed and starving multitude? Why the warehouse piled to the roof, and the ragged, patched, ill-clothed and ill-provided myriads of the earth? Why the abandoned farms, the silent factories and mills with their wonderful machinery, the closed mines, the idle hands seeking vainly and pitifully for work, and so many in want and in the shadow of it? Why the unlimited resources of nature, the unlimited power of man to produce, his unlimited capacity to use and his miserably limited power to buy? Why the luxury,

the leisure and the ownership of the earth to the parasite class which produces nothing, and the drudgery and slavery and the emptiness of poverty to the laboring class which produces everything? Why all this in industry, and in politics, corruption, coercion and threatened force; and in religion, hypocrisy and the practical perversion and profanation of all high ideals? Why the strife among them all? Why everywhere this veiled cannabalism, this irony of barbarism, this refinement of torture called Christian civilization? Why throughout the body social, the natural antithesis of warring atoms, does this insensate reign of insane conflict rage? The cause has been indicated, we will examine it a little more in detail.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CAUSE.

AS we have seen, the condition that prevails throughout the world, in every department of social activity is one of conflict, strife and struggle, man with man, man with combinations of men and combination with combination; and everywhere humanity the victim. And yet man is a social creature. Naturally he delights in the society of his fellows. Instinct and reason and the habit of ages incline him to association with his kind. He realizes the mighty potentialities of such association in its material advantage, its mental development, its moral uplift. And yet, neither instinct nor reason nor the habit of aeons, have sufficed to create a rightly organized society nor a just association of men. Indeed, the result is the antithesis of society; for society and conflict are opposites, and an association of hostile and warring atoms is a perversion of the term.

What is the cause of this incredible and unnatural condition? There are a thousand causes, results that have in turn become causes and pile yet higher the heap of human miseries and perplexities, but at the bottom there is but one cause.

One man believes it is intemperance, another that it is money, another monopoly, another competition, another politics, another taxes, and each of these is subdivided into many differing particulars carrying with them each its greater or lesser hosts of disciples and adherents. All are causes, all more or less fertile of evil, yielding their hundred or their thousand-fold to the diseased atoms of society. But the underlying cause, of which all others are but manifestations or forms, the fundamental, ultimate cause in its practical concrete aspects, so far as the outward man is concerned, may be finally traced in every instance to the violation of the primal law of social order—upon justice in material things must justice in all things else at last depend.

In its last analysis of course, the moving cause to the viola-

tion of this law must be sought in the mental state of the individuals who go to make up society. That is to say—it is man himself, his savagery, his selfishness, his incompetence, in all their forms of envy, distrust, malice, avarice and ambition that the final inward cause of all individual and social evil will be found to exist.

But, as in the beginning, the first issue of these selfish and savage qualities upon the surface of things was in attacks upon the material rights of others, the right to place, to possession, to the products of labor; and as the prevailing traditions, laws, customs and systems of today are largely and practically founded upon the material conditions finally resulting from such attacks, so it may be truly said, that practically the fundamental cause of the continued reign of conflict among men, with the constant and almost irresistible tendency of society to revert to anarchy and chaos, may be found only as stated, in the violation of the foundation law of rightly organized society—material justice.

Once attention is directed to this vital truth and consideration is given to the fact that a denial of justice in material things strikes at the base of all human activity, the physical life, the material body, upon whose full and free development must depend the right development of all the powers and qualities of soul itself; once these truths and their deep and awful meaning are brought home to us, we stand appalled at the prospect before mankind; for upon the violation of this prime social law has been reared the whole super-structure of society—the laws, the customs, the systems, and organizations of men, industrial, social, political and religious.

Think of it, you who have the cause of humanity at heart, who hope for our people a high destiny, who love your country, your friends and your families; consider it well and cease to wonder at the mysterious virus that poisons every channel of social life, develops its deadly disease in every organization of man, and carries its awful contagion to the very altar of science and religion. Reflect upon it—that every organization and activity in society has a direct physical dependence upon industrial organization and that everywhere we find industrial organization, founded upon systems that violate the fundamental social law of material justice; reflect further that this violation is a direct and ever-present threat made

daily and hourly by every man against the physical life and well-being of every other man—a threat against which each must daily and hourly guard himself, and is it any wonder that society is in a state of turmoil and conflict, that power is perverted to selfish ends, knowledge prostituted to lowest purposes, and religion made but the cloak of hypocrisy. Is it any wonder that organization ends in despotism or dissolution; progress in degeneration and reform in disappointment. Is it any wonder that neighbor is arrayed against neighbor, friend against friend, and brother against brother, and that love is an unknown power in the world. Is not the wonder rather that society exists, and that such words as neighbor, friendship, brotherhood and love are known among men. With such a rotting evil at the heart of social life, rottenness and evil must of necessity characterize every organ and function, and disease and distortion and degeneration and deformity must everywhere abound.

Here at the base of material life lies the apparent cause of causes of evil among organized men. The truth of it is subject to the most satisfying demonstration. That the cause of conflict and all its train of evils lies in a reversal of the basic principle of association, in a violation of the primal law of social order—justice in material things; that this is the foundation law of laws among men may best be shown by supposing a state in which the law is observed and justice in material things prevails. Suppose that to every man is restored his inalienable right to a place upon the earth, to every one denied the wrong of a larger holding than he can use, to every one is granted the products of his labor unscaled in exchange by profit, and undiminished in distribution by rent, interest or unjust taxes; suppose that in distribution and exchange the fraud of money as a thing of intrinsic value is suppressed and money as the representative of an earned value deposited with society, or an order on labor for labor rendered is established among men. Suppose that to every one is given the access to the means of production without the intermediary of a rent-exacting owner or a profit demanding employer. Suppose in short, that the right and opportunity of robbery and theft were stricken from the systems and conventions of men, what meaning then would oppression have anywhere in government or industry? What the occasion of conflict in production, of

corruption in politics and hypocrisy in religion, of pride in society? What motive to the perversion of power, the prostitution of intellect or the distortion of opportunity? In such a state of society what significance could attach to such words as despot, oppressor, master, slave? What could poverty mean, except of mind and character? What could opulence signify, except the accretions of industry and providence?

Let there be given you justice in your relations to material things, and all power of oppression over you is effectually destroyed. Practically, you cannot be oppressed, except you be first denied some material, industrial right. Here is the beginning of despotism; here the pregnant source of all social evil; here the ultimate practical cause of all the poverty, the degradation, the corruption and oppression of the world. Let there be inaugurated an industrial system that will give each his rights in relation to material things, and right and justice in every other relation of life will inevitably follow.

Make safe the foundation of physical life, and the mental and moral and spiritual will take care of themselves. Get back to the primal law—thou shalt not sweat by proxy. Rear your industrial systems upon it, and the despotism and oppressions of kingcraft and moneycraft and priestcraft will disappear before its power forever. Upon its violation the great evils of the world depend. The world is mad because of this one great broken law. Its unending convulsions and conflicts are but the ceaseless paroxysms of this insanity.

How has it happened that this lunacy of man, the violation of the fundamental principle of associated life, has become incorporated into the very fabric of his laws and customs and systems of government and industry? How has it been brought about that we have a state of society so based upon a reversal of law, so contrary to all principles of order and organization, and therefore so distorted, diseased and unnatural?

CHAPTER V.

THE REIGN OF FORCE.

AWAY back in the beginning of time it began. When reason first rose above instinct mankind came to the parting of the way. There the road forked. Formerly man must needs conform to natural law, now he could veer from it, but at his peril. He chose to veer. Reason at first was weak and narrowly selfish. It displayed itself most in selfish cunning. Man measured himself against man. The one with the biggest muscle noted the fact. Two large ideas kindled in the dark recesses of his brain—power and opportunity—and a low mentality prompted their immediate use to selfish ends. His instinct was towards the society of his fellows, but his first act was to violate the foundation law of association. He used his power and opportunity to take by force that which of right was his weaker brother's, his place upon the earth or the products of his labor. Then the strong went forth to conquer, and the age-long conflict began. So man in his first attempt to improve upon nature took the wrong fork of the road. Right to material things belonged to him who had the physical power to seize and hold them. Force ruled the world. Not right, but the physical power of the individual determined ownership, and ownership acknowledges responsibility to naught but greater force. Custom now reared its mighty form, and through the force of habit the habit of force became the custom, and thus, with the material conditions it had wrought, was invested with the semblance of right. Still bearing with it these material conditions wrought by force, custom was erected into government, and government through its statutes and decrees confirmed the customs and conditions brought about by force with no reference to their righteousness or natural justice. Thus the struggle of force-wrought ownership was outwardly transferred from the immediate field of industry to that of government, and here for ages the conflict has raged. Who should control the machinery of govern-

ment and through it maintain for themselves the material conditions inherited through custom from physical power? The progress of human development may be easily traced through the gradual extension of this political or governmental control to an ever increasing number of individuals.

From despot to barons; from barons to a yet wider nobility; from them, in ever-increasing circles, it has come very close to the people. But always to all the object of getting within the stronghold of power has been, not to right the first great fundamental wrong, but to share in the material benefits arising therefrom, and which the first evil use of force had secured to itself and transmitted through government, custom and law to whomsoever by these means could gain possession of them.

Even today, to "the people" themselves the great object of suffrage and control of government is not to effect thereby a return to first principles, but in the main the hope of each is to sheer off from himself the evil effects of its violation or mayhap to secure to himself a share in the plundered rights of his brother.

From this meager tracing perhaps the reader may be able to see how it has come about that the whole social structure from industrial to political is based upon a broken law of nature, upon the violation of the essential principle of physical well-being, and therefore of social order and mental and ethical development; how the first strong man by force deprived his weaker fellows of their rights in relation to material things and appropriated to himself the products of their labor by means of the "ownership" thus acquired; how he sought to strengthen and perpetuate the condition thus brought about through the forms of government, that is through the conventions of himself and others like him, erected in the laws of custom and the decrees of government; and how thus the attention of men was diverted from the real wrong and the struggle among them transferred from the common field of material things to the governmental and political. It may thus be easily seen how custom and law and government have become not the conservation of justice and right, but the crystalizations of the wrongs of violence upon prime material rights, the condensations of the injustice of force, veritable towers of physical power erected about the field of industry

for its safer holding and control by those who could occupy them. And being erected by force to conserve the effects of violence, a real change of occupants has never yet been effected save by the power that created them—force. And though the people have been called repeatedly to oust one set and to put in another, the result has always been for them simply a change of masters.

But though violated industrial (or material) right had government and custom erected over it to perpetuate its violation, and thus became obscured from the common view by these superstructures of force; though for thousands of years mankind has traveled the wrong fork of the road through blood and conflict and misery and degradation, apparently farther and farther from the right objective—true social life, yet really it has been veering around to its right destiny, slowly, slowly, like the ship that rounds the earth to its point of departure, and whose voyagers in amazement and joy behold with new eyes and a new understanding the land of their nativity. Slowly, slowly as the day breaketh, the vision of men have penetrated the obscurations of governments and systems and customs founded on force and violence, and gradually the true cause of evil among them has been unfolding itself to their view. Happily with the developing of their vision and the broadening of their comprehension, there has been impressed upon their understanding two lessons, learned at last through the ages of conflict and oppression, and now in these modern times vitally necessary to that readjustment of society to its natural law which must take place—the lessons of Organization and Responsibility of Power, both learned in the strife over government.

When the first strong men in the beginning by violence achieved ownership over the rights of others in their relation to material things, and sought to crystallize the wrong into the form of government, each found it necessary to gather immediately about him other men only less strong than himself. These in the course of time saw that their combined strength was greater than that of their chief, and coveting the benefits and privileges his "ownership" conferred, they organized to depose him and parcel out among themselves his "possessions."

About these others gathered, saw their opportunity and

combiued; aud the circle of dominant "ownership" gradually widening with the process, finally reached a number too great to give each a place in the governing body, aud the idea was born of making the exercise of power responsible. Thus as the lesson of organization was extended to greater numbers of men, the idea of Responsibility of Power extended with it. And for the last few hundred years the conflicts of men have been evolved from these two ideas. Wars and revolutions have revolved about them. Before them thrones trembled and crumbled and from them republics were born. These ideas are founded upon the two great social prineiples that human nature cannot be trusted with irresponsible power, and that power cannot be made responsible except through organization. But for ages these costly truths learned in the dire school of experience, were confined in their application to the political world. Today, civilized men will uot trust men to rule over them politically with irresponsible power. Offiees are made elective. An intricate system of checks are placed upon those iu authority. In theory nothing is left to individual caprice and but little to individual discretion. Man cannot be trusted with irresponsible power; and only through organization can responsibility be fixed and power rightly applied. These great ideas and principles have been clearly evolved from the age-long political struggles of the past. Gradually as the genius of organization has crept over into the industrial world, the idea of responsible power has crept after it like a shadow; and lo! with them both has come the wonderful revelation that upon the industrial depends the political, and that government has no meaning except as it affects the rights of men in their relation to material things, and that upon justice in material things must justice in all things else at last depend.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GOVERNMENT OF OWNERSHIP.

THE condition of society today throughout the civilized world is one of universal conflict, constantly and necessarily tending to complete anarchy on the one hand, or to despotism on the other, and in either case to disintegration, degeneration and destruction of the social organism in question. In the political world, among nations, this condition of perpetual social conflict finds its expressions in actual warfare, or in mighty preparations for war, or in hostile legislation, nation against nation, people against people, race against race. Christendom is an armed camp. The earth bristles with bayonets; the sea with the mightiest engines of war.

In the industrial world, this universal condition finds its expression in a system denominated competitive, whose chief characteristic is a hostility of individual interests in both production and distribution that contravenes all social law, and runs counter to the very end and aim of social organization.

This condition was brought about in the first instance by brute physical force, brought to bear upon the rights of weaker men in their relations to material things, whereby force asserted ownership over labor itself, or over access to the means of production (whether natural or social) through which alone labor could be utilized.

To render this forceful "ownership" more safely permanent, custom and law and government were finally builded upon it and about it, and thus these mighty conserving influences and moulding agencies which naturally would have contributed to justice and the progress and well-being of society, have been largely but the ministers of injustice and the perpetuators of conflict.

Stricken thus at its very foundation, the whole superstructure of society has been throughout all time the weak and tottering and disintegrating thing that it is today. And

the people, deprived of their fundamental, material rights, rights upon which their very physical life and well-being depend, struggle in vain for any other rights, social, political, intellectual, or moral, until these foundation rights are first regained.

This it is that causes Prof. Huxley to say, "Even the best of modern civilization appears to me to exhibit a condition of mankind which neither embodies any worthy ideal nor even possesses the merit of stability." This it is that causes one of the most profound economic philosophers to say, "Every improvement of civilization but cherishes the want of today, and prepares the revolution for tomorrow." Or, as a famous poet has paraphrased it, " The car of human improvement, rushing through civilization, crushes beneath its wheels all who do not grapple to it, and in the awful struggle, only the few may grasp it."

To understand fully the significance of the remedy herein to be set forth, it is necessary to keep well in mind the succession of cause and effect that has led up to the present "system." It is necessary to remember that the whole of our social system is grounded upon a continuous violation of the primal law of social order, material (industrial) justice; that this violation was first affected by superior physical force asserting an unjust ownership over men in their relation to material things, and that this assertion of force precipitated a conflict that has never ceased, because upon and about the ownership thus affected, all social, governmental and industrial systems have been built. Or to state it more succinctly, the present system of conflict and despotism prevails because in ancient times force determined ownership, and this violent and unjust ownership, to perpetuate itself, created, molded and controlled government, and that through the forms of government, law and custom so created and controlled, peaceful succession to this "ownership" has ever since alone been possible.

It is, therefore, evident that "ownership" even thus peacefully acquired is but a perpetuation of the original injustice upon which it was founded, and which can never be righted except by the voluntary surrender of such ownership, however acquired, and the return of his ancient and primal birthright to each individual, however "weak" or "incompetent" he may be.

From the foregoing chain of cause and effect, as well as from the very reason and nature of things this conclusion may be deduced and received as an axiom, that ownership necessarily creates government and controls it. If justice determines that "ownership," then justice will create and control the government; if force and violence is at the foundation of ownership, then must force and violence create, characterize and control the forms of law and government. Ownership determines control. From this inexorable law there can be no departure. Ownership is diverted from individual to individual, from class to class; but control is never diverted from ownership. It always follows it as the needle follows the pole.

From this unchanging law may be deduced another, equally a social axiom—that the grasp of ownership upon control (government) can never be broken except by force, and never permanently even by force, except ownership is itself transferred. The truth of this has been absolutely and literally demonstrated in modern times, where whenever force has been removed, we have seen ownership openly spring to its rightful and inevitable place as the true governing power. This accounts for the fruitless revolutions of the past, the disappointments of popular uprisings in all the ages of the world, and the emptiness of all efforts at peaceful reform today that aim only at control, and not likewise at ownership. Nay, if the peaceful effort aims at ownership through control, and not at control through ownership, it will also fail. It necessarily must fail; for ownership has never yet, and it never will, peacefully let go its grasp upon control. Practically it never can, for to do so is virtually to destroy itself. The attention of the reader is, therefore, drawn again to this truth, for it has a mighty bearing upon the problem before us—that the grasp of ownership upon control (government) can never be broken except by force. The grasp of individuals upon ownership may be broken by peaceful means, changed from individual to individual, from class to class, through the forms of custom and the law, i. e., government; but the grasp of ownership upon these forms (government) can not be broken except by revolution. There is a distinction here with a difference, most potential in its possible effects upon the history of the future, and students of economics and politics should ponder it well.

It means that all peaceful attacks on ownership through

government are futile. It means that "government ownership" can only be effected by revolution, by the physical force of arms. It means that as against the government of ownership, all other government is meaningless; that as against it, all degrees and kinds of "popular" ownership of government through "suffrage," 'representation," "initiative and referendum," constitutions, statutes, and decrees of courts are absolutely valueless and impotent to all practical intents and purposes. It means that the government of ownership must necessarily prevail against everything but superior force, and bows to it only when and so long as it is actively exerted against it. It means that the industrial condition is the determining factor throughout the whole social organism, molding, informing, and characterizing its every function and organ.

In more ancient times, government and ownership were united in the same person. The despotic, political chief was the actual owner of the land and the labor of his corner of the earth. Therefore, when ownership changed hands, as it frequently did, and always by force (I speak not of descent,) government necessarily went with it. In less ancient times, the two were always so intimately blended with the personnel of government, that the popular mind did not and could not distinguish between them; and still when ownership "changed hands," as it still frequently did, always still by the power of physical force, government still likewise went with it. In those times, attacks on ownership were always made through attacks on the "government" (official power), because they were actually or virtually united in the same person; but because of the "pomp and circumstance" of government, it was always identified in the popular mind as the source of power, and to the people, ownership appeared to depend upon and follow it. Hence it was as we have already noted, that the "conflict" among men waged fiercest ostensibly about government, and that the pivotal ownership underneath has been lost to popular view. Hence it is also, that in modern times, the efforts of the "people" have been mainly directed to political relief, to governmental "changes," not with intent to reorganize ownership on the new basis of industrial justice, but simply to readjust government to a slightly different position on the old basis of material injustice, thinking thereby to shift op-

pression to other shoulders, or to gain some of its "benefits" to themselves.

It is only in these last days of the closing century that the people have begun to awake to the stern fact that oppression may not be so shifted, nor benefits to them be so gained. As in the past, the people have found that a change in the personnel of "government" was at most but a change of masters; so in these later times, we are beginning to discover that a change of administration, the triumph or defeat of a party, the enactment or repeal of a law, nay, the possession of all political rights, and the establishment of constitutional and representative political government with the unjust basis of ownership left undisturbed, have absolutely no beneficial effect upon the condition of the mass of the people, who if not in a worse state, are exactly as they were before. In short, we are just beginning to discover that there is no escape from the government of ownership, except in wresting ownership itself from the possession of the usurping and irresponsible individual, and consigning it to its rightful heritor, labor, and by mutual consent making the administration of its power responsible to the general society.

In such action alone lies the remedy.

How may this be done? In the right answer lies the true solution of the industrial and governmental problem.

CHAPTER VII

THE REMEDY

To state a condition and define the cause is to indicate the nature of the remedy. To those who have followed the course of reasoning herein pursued, and who accept it as true, it will already have appeared that the remedy must be essentially industrial and not political. The political will have its place in the process; but it will be auxiliary and ancilliary, supplementary and completing to the industrial, following, and not preceding it.

Whether there was ever a time in the history of our country when the readjustment of ownership to a basis of material justice through social responsibility might have been effected wholly by political means, it is perhaps not now profitable to discuss. That it was not so done, is perhaps conclusive that practically speaking it could not have been. Whether it can yet be so effected, is another question to which attention will for a moment be directed; peacefully effected, of course, I mean, for with war and revolution this scribe in this work has nothing to do. That it cannot be so done would seem to follow from those axioms of social law that ownership creates and controls government, and that the grasp of ownership upon government can never be broken except by force.

That the non-owners can never peacefully effect it by political means would to an ordinary observer appear a foregone conclusion, for to such it is a very evident fact that practically the "right" of suffrage is to this class but permissive and dependent for its free exercise upon the power of their "owners," virtually, and as much so for all vital, practical purposes as such a "right" would have been to the chattel slaves with reference to their master's ownership.

Whether or not the large constituency of small "owners" may be able to combine against the large owners and their vast army of servants and retainers, and one by one reduce their industrial holdings to "public" ownership, is the only question. That this has been their policy and method in the

past must be admitted, but force was always then the successful weapon.

May the ballot now effect in their hands what formerly required the sword.

From the indications of the times, there is no doubt that such an attempt will soon be put to an issue. That it will fail, there are many reasons for confident belief. First, because the grasp of ownership on government that is vital and masterful today is the grasp of the large owners. Control is in their hands; control not only of the machinery of politics and government, but of agitation and education so necessary to a revolutionary exercise of the ballot, and the indications are that in accordance with our axiom, they have already determined never to release this grasp peacefully; second, the small ownership, though large in numbers, is not so really, for their ownership is virtually only apparent, as may be seen by the power of political coercion, which, through trade, commerce and finance, the large ownership is enabled to exercise over so large a part of them; third, and last but not least, there has already been developed an ownership class-consciousness so to speak, which must necessarily still further divide the party of small owners and tend to prevent united, consistent and harmonious action. There are other reasons; but perhaps these are enough to give serious pause to the hope of peaceful, political relief alone. For he who can believe that any class or party loaded with these impedimentia can break through the obstacles of party politics, bossism, corruption, indirection and betrayal, thence through the difficulties of the divided powers of government—legislative, executive and judicial—all of which for effective action must be concurrently possessed, and finally through constitutions, amendments and interpretations, and by these means at last successfully reorganize industries to a basis of public commonwealth—he, I say, who can believe all this, must indeed be a hopeful creature.

There may be those who will take issue with the statement of fact that large ownership has already determined never to release its grasp of control (government) peacefully; but in the presidential campaign of '96, where for the first time in any open and extended way, the lines of hostile conflict were drawn between the small owners and the large, those who

were in touch with plutocracy know that such a determination, implacable, unyielding, and with the power to enforce its will, rode impudent and ill-disguised through all that masque of party contest. Its threat was all but publicly and officially made, and its purpose shown but with small pretense of concealment. That it still exists, always necessarily has and will, the economically well-informed have never attempted to deny. The fact is, that in popular government, politics and party strife are but the veiled contests among the brotherhood of ownership. As long as those contests are only for special privilege and passing advantage, with always a chance of reversal, all is well. But let the contest involve the issue of ownership itself, by the one party or the other, and at once the good humor of the gamblers disappears. It at once means rebellion, revolution, internecine war, bloody and to the hilt of the knife. That was tried once in this country on slave-ownership, and the mightiest civil war of history was precipitated. Try it on capital-ownership, and the "rebellion" of '61 will go down to second place in the history of wars. The cold truth is, that under present industrial conditions, suffrage is but a bauble to keep the "people" quiet, and which they are "free" to use so long only as they threaten no vital danger to the government of ownership; and the sooner the small owner and non-owner come to understand that, the better for them and their children and all mankind.

No, the peaceful application of the remedy will not be effected wholly, nor even mainly, by political effort.

The storm of conflict that for ages raged about "government" ostensibly per se has long since passed to another, and the only real point of interest to mankind. When the people secured the right of ballot, then to all practical intents and purposes the political conflict ceased. Political government has never meant anything to the people except a means of making individual physical power responsible to society. This power being the one which first violated the primal social law, it was natural and right that it should be the first to be restrained. But when the ballot was gained, and public positions, originally gained and held by physical force, were made responsible to the people, the political battle was virtually ended; methods of election, legislation and execution are but matters of detail. The principle has been won; for it is now

universally conceded that physical force and all that naturally and obviously represents it in society, must be made responsible to society.

To attempt to use the ballot to readjust the basis of ownership is very natural but a very serious error. The ballot is only an agreed-upon method of making force responsible. Society has never so agreed in reference to ownership. It never will, for irresponsible ownership will never peaceably so consent. But you will remind me that I have said that ownership controls government, and therefore you will say that the people's victory over government was also a victory over ownership. Not so, for at the time that victory was won, the personnel of ownership was wholly (by convention) and largely in fact dis-united from the personnel of government. That is to say, ownership had then already come to rule, as it does now, by indirection and not direction, and the only thing settled by the winning of the ballot was the responsible exercise of force.

I must remind you, too, that the ballot was not won by the ballot, it was not won by peaceful means, but by force battling against force; the organized force of the many weak against the organized force of the few strong, or the few that originally represented superior strength; the force of the people organized with a view of contesting irresponsible force, organized with a view of perpetuating itself in official power, and after victory won making the whole responsible.

Political government, therefore, represents only the control of irresponsible force; and modern ownership, the offspring of the latter, having repudiated its father now that succession could be effected by peaceful means, was the principal factor in his overthrow, and now keeps his cunning grasp upon the new associate with the double purpose of seeing to it that the control of his deposed father is effectual, and that the neophyte does not disturb his possessions. Or rather, perhaps, it were more nearly the truth to say that in its latest analysis and in fact the victory of suffrage was not exactly a victory of the "people" after all. It was but the culmination of the title of ownership that, from the beginning of the establishment of government and its forms of succession, had been spreading in larger and larger circles from the despot towards the people. As ownership spread to these larger circles

the potentialities of government moved with it, and each promptly organized to depose the force still officially represented by the old circle and enthroned its own, making it responsible to its circle alone; and when popular suffrage was obtained, it was but a method of announcing to the world that ownership had reached a circle of holders so large as to embrace a large majority of the people, and it was then naturally thought because the force then enthroned and made responsible, represented so numerous a constituency that the question of the responsibility of power was forever settled.

Under ancient conditions such would probably have been the case; but unfortunately for such a result, just at the time that ownership had reached its last and widest circle of constituent holders, the modern facilities and opportunities of industrial organization sprang into being and the tide of ownership was turned. Faster and faster its circle again contracts; faster and faster it flows from the people and faster and faster it ebbs away toward the despot, and the people are realizing that political privilege without ownership means nothing. That without it, suffrage is but the form of freedom without its substance, and the ballot but a bauble with the power to effect nothing.

But though it is not through the exercise of political powers that relief must come, yet it is to the lesson learned in the political struggle and to faculties and powers therein first developed and nourished, that we must look for the methods by which relief must be effected.

We have already seen how in the struggle for the ownership of government, as the circle of aspirants widened from about the single despot to larger and larger bodies of men, the faculty of organization was developed and its power more clearly apprehended. Also how, as the number of sharers in control grew and the impossibility of the personal participation of all was finally made manifest, the idea of responsible administration of power was born and made a determining factor in the final solution of the political problem.

It is these lessons that must be learned anew by the people in their application to industrial ownership.

The responsible administration of industrial power must be the slogan of the new crusade for the people's rights, and it can only be realized through industrial organization.

CHAPTER VIII.

SOME PRINCIPLES OF INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION.

ORGANIZATION for ownership, collective and responsible, will be the slogan of the New Order of Labor that is to succeed the many labor orders of today, organized only for a little less unstable tenantry and a little more tolerable servitude.

Organization for labor ownership in the various trades and industries, mutually responsible to each other and the public for uniform operation according to agreed upon principles—this will be the objective of the new order. Nothing less will be accepted by it except as means to this one great aim.

We have seen that organized ownership is the power that dominates society, and, excepting force, it is the power that always has and always will dominate. Its materialistic hand controls, not only government and industry, but, whenever the status quo upon which it is based is threatened by either intellect or morals, these, too, feel the power of its omnipresent and omnipotent grasp.

We have seen that, necessarily and inevitably, this is so; for the ownership of that upon which physical life depends means the control of everything and all that depends on physical life.

Effective power, then, today practically depends on the ownership of the producing means—land and machinery of industry. In the beginning this ownership depended on power, i. e., physical force, and we have already related how force, in order to make firmer the "ownership" of the "rights" ravished from others in violation of the primal law of social life, established government, and through it, such forms of possession and succession as were best designed to perpetuate the results of the original violation. How the reign of conflict thence arose, and wage and chattel slavery and competition and the despotism of capital became engrafted into the customs and systems of society we know. And we know how in the course of time through the forms of succession referred to, principally those

of trade and commerce, ownership was gradually extended to others than those for whom authority designed it, and these possessing the substance of power without its form, organized from time to time to secure it, and, having done so, proceeded to share with the "recognized" classes the "honors, immunities and privileges" belonging thereto, but with never any thought of readjusting ownership to a basis of fundamental justice.

Even in the domain of force, since government has become an established institution among men, there has never been a successful revolution not based on some claim of ownership, and no successful "popular" revolutions except those of "unrecognized" ownership organized for "recognition." Without fear of any successful challenge, I make this uncompromising statement—there has never been a popular uprising, permanently successful, effected by the non-owning classes.

These facts are reviewed here again for the purpose of emphasizing this truth— that ownership is today the only real power, and that organization except for ownership, is futile and meaningless in so far as any permanent beneficial results are concerned. The conflict among men has always raged about the stronghold of ownership. There it always will be fought, and there it centers today. And no permanent civilization nor true and satisfactory social life can ever be attained except the conflict cease, and it will never cease until ownership is adjusted to a basis of exact justice to all.

Hitherto the struggle has been for ownership on the basis established by force through the violation of natural social law. And it has been, in effect, an individual struggle for individual ownership without regard to the just rights of others.

As long as the tendency of the tide was steadily from the few to the many, there was some ground for hope that the evil essentially involved in the violated law would at last become in effect so "highly attenuated" as to be at least bearable; but since the tide of ownership has to ebb away from the many and flow strongly to the few, it is plain that the theory of attenuation can not prevail.

In a vague and somewhat instinctive way, the people seem to understand this, and to realize that the only hope of the future lies in a radical reorganization of industry on principles of ownership just to all. The efforts of the people to control monopolies and corporations, the tendency of po-

litical agitation towards industrial undertakings by the government, and the spread of the co-operative sentiment in private enterprise, are all evidences of this feeling and understanding.

Hitherto the wider attention has been given to the first two manifestations mentioned, namely, governmental interference. We have already given our reasons for believing that such methods must necessarily fail. Government is organized ownership, and to attempt to capture ownership through its own organ is like weaponless men attempting to capture an army by first capturing its arms. It must be admitted that one can imagine circumstances under which such a result could be effected, but certainly none that may be reasonably hoped for with reference to the fight for ownership.

The development of the co-operative sentiment is more to the purpose. In it is indicated the only method by which the tide of ownership may be turned towards the people, and the only method by which the masses of men may right the ancient wrong of force, and the suicidal conflict of competition and place themselves in harmony with the fundamental social law of material justice.

It is true that the small ownership of the country is still numerically strong enough to unite, and by force wrest ownership and with it government from the usurping few, if too many of the non-owners did not side with the latter. But even then, the victory would be fruitless of any permanent good to the race, if the object should be as in the past, simply a change in the personnel of masterhood, a raising of the more numerous smaller ownership to a level of power with the larger, and leaving the whole still on the same unjust basis established of old by force. The result would be simply as the thrashing of old straw, Sysiphus would again have to bend to his never-ending task, and the real conflict would but begin anew.

And if the object of such an uprising of force, could, by any stretch of the imagination be supposed to be to reorganize ownership itself on a basis of social justice, there would necessarily have to be presupposed as a condition precedent to the entertainment of such an object by small ownership, an extensive and personal experience in the successful organization and operation of industries on such a basis. In other words,

there would have to have been already attained by the people themselves in their private capacity, a very large degree of success in co-operative enterprises before the conserving and intensifying power of government could be effectually brought to bear upon them. The inexorable laws of evolution require this. Government is the conservation, the crystallization of the results of human progress. It follows, not precedes. Its functions are to conserve, to intensify, to generalize, not to lead.

Industries may be so perfectly organized as to be finally brought one by one within the operation of this mighty organ of society; but this organization of industries must be done by their owners assentingly with that final consummation in view.

So again and again we are brought up against this inevitable conclusion that the battle before "the people" is for industrial ownership, and that it must be an industrial battle, fought out to a finish strictly along industrial lines. As has been said, the methods to be used by both sides in this struggle will, in the main, be business methods, and the immediate and present object practical business results.

Organization will be the watch-word by both the people and the plutocrats. But the organization undertaken will be on a scale hitherto unattempted by even the latter. On the part of the people it will evolve a gigantic combination of business companies, each local in initiation, organization and management, but co-ordinated in distributive effects through the agency of a great central supervising connection, which will be invested also with the function of absorbing the general control and management of such industries as one by one may become so highly organized as logically and naturally to demand it. Commencing with the functions of exchange, banking, transportation, communication, etc., and so proceeding naturally as organization is perfected and requirements demand. This "great combination" of companies will be organized for the ownership of each industry by the labor employed in its operation, and hence the organization will naturally proceed along the lines of the trades. That is, finally each trade will so organize its industry that its operations will be managed from a central office, reducing production to a science, practically eliminating all waste in both effort and

result. And yet oppression, one of the other, will be impossible, for all of these central trades offices will be joined together in a general association for the purpose of adjusting exchange to a basis of approximate cost.

This will be the final consummation of the present somewhat incoherent attempts at conscious and voluntary co-operative endeavor among the "people." From these isolated and systemless attempts will develop an industrial movement that will sweep plutocracy from the face of the earth with as much ease as a battleship would sweep a wooden cruiser from the face of the waters. The practical means of effecting and directing the development of such industrial organization itself will of course be based largely on the principles herein discussed.

As tomorrow slowly and imperceptibly grows out of today, so will the new industrial system grow out of the old. It will not spring forth in a day full statured and full panoplied, perfect and ideal. It will develop rapidly and spread and increase as no movement of the past has ever done, for the facilities for organization and the spread of information concerning new movements are greater today than ever before; but notwithstanding the phenomenal speed with which transformations are now effected, the new industrial society that shall reorganize ownership, will be a development and not a fiat creation, and must necessarily therefore conform to the law of growth, here a little and there a little.

And, as in the past, the people organized their scattered physical forces and opposed them to organized irresponsible force and overcame it, so must they organize their scattered individual ownership (and industrial power which secures ownership,) and oppose it to organized irresponsible ownership and overcome it; and, as in the physical conflict, it must be done with the view of (after victory won) making the whole resulting ownership responsible to the people.

These lessons learned from ages of political conflict, the people are already pondering in their application to the industrial problem. They are learning that it is not simply in the realm of government and politics that men cannot be trusted with despotic power, but that the truth applies to the realm of industry as well. Nay, they are beginning to see that everywhere you find a man you find the principle, that human nature

is yet so constructed that in its selfishness and greed, its lust for power and possession, that it is blundering folly to place one's self within reach of its claws. The edict is now being formulated in the hearts of the people, that the wild beast in man must be perpetually caged; that it must have no free field in which to hunt its prey, and that least of all may that field be the industrial field.

The lesson of their political history has not been lost upon them. They know that power must be made responsible, and that it can only be made so through organization motived to that end; and they know how to organize.

Already do the people know that not conflict but combination is the order of the times; that not competition but co-operation, organized and controlled, is the law of industrial success; that not in divided but in united ownership lies their route to economic freedom. And they are to apply their knowledge, to cease their warring with each other, and to combine and to put an end forever to irresponsible conflict in ownership as in government.

Slowly but surely there has been razed out from the hearts of the battling millions the belief inherited from the isolated savage ancestor of pre-Adamite days, that each must needs fight the other or die. And slowly but surely there has been graven in its place the sentiments—"If my neighbor would not, neither would I;" and "would that we all might work together." But each, though quite sure of his own heart, is not quite sure of that of his neighbor, and so the mighty conflict rages even wilder than before. Here for the moment lies the immediate cause that prevents wide and rapid organization among the people. It lies in a misunderstanding, or rather lack of understanding each of the other, arising from the survival among us of the instincts and habits of thought of the isolated savage ancestor. The situation at present is that condition of trembling uncertainty which immediately precedes a full understanding for united action.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SIGNS OF THE STORM.

A COMPETENT observer of events during the last decade of the nineteenth century, could not fail to notice an uneasiness and unrest among the people that was ominous of a fateful change in both society and government. The times were rife with signs of an impending crisis. Men were gathering and grouping and dispersing and realigning in a way that showed a deep-seated dissatisfaction with existing conditions. Their movements were like the movements of clouds that presage the storm. There were currents and counter-currents, a marching and counter-marching of forces, a crossing and re-crossing of effort. The nation was in a ferment. There was a manifest electric tension in the industrial atmosphere that was growing slowly but surely to the breaking point. Whatever might be the cause—the primary, the remote, the real root-cause of this alarming state of affairs—it was evident that the immediate, the apparent and proximate cause was the just alarm created by the accelerated movement of the wealth of the nation into the hands of the comparative few individuals and corporations. These private accumulations of capital were already so vast that they had become an acknowledged source of many of the most pernicious evils that beset society and government.

Chief among these evils was the reduction of the masses to a necessary and practically a perpetual poverty with all its attendant hardships and seemingly unavoidable loss of manhood and independence, resulting as it finally must in a distinct lowering of the national character and tone. And intelligently realizing the injustice and wrong of the situation, knowing that the condition was unnatural and artificial, the irritation and exasperation of the people were becoming dangerous to a peaceful solution of the difficulty.

A close second to this chief evil, second because the first made the second largely possible, was the corrupt and corrupting methods and power of the owners of these aggregations of

wealth at every point in government and society and industry which they touched. Let Croesus be threatened anywhere with a curtailment of opportunity for increasing his profits or his possessions and consequent power, either by lawful competition or by governmental restraint, and promptly at the point of attack, whether in court or congress or political arena or in the field of commerce or industry, there appeared his corrupt and defiling representatives each an expert stategist in the work assigned him, and the competition disappeared or the governmental powers were "fixed."

Nor was this Modern-Man-of-Wealth content to act only when threatened. His attitude was not alone defensive by any means, but it was aggressive and triumphant. Flowing from these pregnant sources of wrong and injustice, there came the overwhelming tide of evils that were adding their irritant poisons to the body industrial and the body politic. And this movement of wealth from the hands of its producers into the possession of its manipulators, was, as stated before, an accelerated movement. It was constantly increasing. It had the terrible numerical momentum of a geometrical progression. The complete absorption of all wealth, seemed to be but a question of time and continued opportunity, resulting as the natural end of this unnatural movement in an industrial dictatorship by the Few. But the people were aroused to the danger of the situation, and their activity, though it seemed to be more the activity of ferment than of progress in any single direction, boded ill for the continuance of such an alarming industrial condition.

But notwithstanding the ferment and confusion of plans that was everywhere so apparent, there was a general drift towards a common purpose, and that purpose was the simple but difficult one of curbing the industrial power of those dominating commercial and financial geniuses to whom the competitive system, the machine methods and the organizing facilities of the times gave opportunities so large for the exercise of their peculiar talents, that the produce and labor of the masses were becoming as subservient to their manipulation and control as in other times the people themselves had been subject to military masterships and governmental despotisms. How this one common purpose could best be effected was the supreme question of the times. The people were seeking in

an earnest but ineffective way for an effectual remedy. In the hope of political relief they were moving from one great party to the other or massing in greater or lesser numbers in new ones; and in the hope of direct industrial relief they were organizing societies and unions and orders and brotherhoods and alliances without number. Some of these going as they believed to the root of the trouble, sought to show the people that no relief short of a peaceful reorganization of society under a new industrial system would ever prove permanently effective. But the great majority of orders and unions were simply defensive leagues organized by the laborers in particular occupations to protect themselves from a harsh use of the power which the competitive wage system gave to the great employers. And while they served in a manner as a temporary barrier to a full and free exercise of irresponsible authority of the latter, they were proving so inadequate and unsatisfactory, that, discouraged and desperate, many were in favor of more aggressive measures. Indeed, at the time of the opening of our story, rumors of the formation of societies revolutionary in their objects and methods were already beginning to be circulated about and adding their mite to the feeling of uneasiness that generally prevailed. But evidently if they existed at all, it was only in the formative stage, for nothing definite was heard of their operations. It could not be doubted, however, that there were many persons whose real or fancied grievances or sympathies for the condition of the poor or indignation at the methods of the rich, prepared them to join in any rash undertaking or desperate enterprise that might be presented to their notice. And as the times ripen to any action, the men who are to give it incarnate direction and force, ripen with them. So with this incendiary spirit that was spreading to some extent among the people; there were men able and ready to organize it. The industrial condition at the close of the nineteenth century was like one of those delicate chemical solutions which if gently and steadily agitated at the proper moment, will crystallize into beautiful and permanent forms; but which if shaken rudely or inopportunely, will explode with most destructive force. It was a condition which would require the most thoughtful consideration to determine satisfactorily upon what lines of principle and policy the coming revolution of industry could and would be ef-

felt; for the people felt sure that some mighty reformation was coming and that it would not be long delayed. And their very activity, their arousement to a sense of their wrongs, was of themselves and augury of their triumph, though that arousement and activity displayed themselves in many evil and dangerous tendencies. The one thing imperatively needed was honest and competent leadership to the end that the popular forces that now and then were gathering and threatening to break in storm, might be drawn benignly and peacefully into a different and safer order.

CHAPTER X.

THE ATTITUDE OF WEALTH TOWARDS LABOR.

IF the Hosts of Labor were thrilling with a new hope and a broader purpose and were grimly and determinedly girding themselves for the decisive conflict with organized capital which they saw approaching, the latter was in no wise cast down nor afraid. A long series of uninterrupted triumphs had made the capitalistic employer rather contemptuous of the purposeless multitude with whom he had hitherto to contend. So little did he regard the actualities of its power that he had not dignified it in word or thought with a single hostile name. And while the vocabulary of labor was full of warlike terms with regard to him, his had absolutely none to match them in return. Indeed, if the philologist of future ages could be furnished with the terminology of labor and capital with respect to each other, the history of the industrial attitude of one to the other could be written therefrom. He did not look upon labor as his foe, as his adversary, as his enemy, and his troubles with it did not shape themselves to his mind as battles or conflicts or campaigns or wars. He did not look upon it even as an aggregation of human beings; but from a business standpoint, (and he but rarely and momentarily regarded it from any other,) he simply thought of the working class as a mighty, money-making machine, the control of which naturally and necessarily belonged to him and the product of whose operation just as naturally and necessarily became his property to dispose of as he pleased. The personal element in his dealings with it did not seem to penetrate to his consciousness in any effective way at all. There was immeasurably less of it in the relation of employer and employe, than there was between the master and the slave in the olden days of chattel slavery. And even the human sympathy which in those times had been accorded by the employing white man to his poor, wage-earning white brother, had been lost in the machine-ideas of the times. The workingman had, so far as the capitalist was concerned, become

simply a machine. And if the wages which he paid him covered the physical wear and tear of the machine, he was content; that is, if the food and clothing and shelter which he accorded his man-machine would keep him going until he could get another at the same price or less, he did not consider the matter further. That was his sole concern. And as the supply of such machines far exceeded his needs, that concern could not be said to be acute. It amounted to about the same that the president of a street car line had for the beasts that pulled his cars a few years since. A certain sum had to be set apart for their maintenance of course, but that amount must be kept constantly at the least possible minimum in order that his profits might be kept to their maximum. If there was any difference between the conditions of the man-machine wage-worker and the street car beasts it was entirely in favor of the latter. And if there was any difference between the moral and mental attitude of the street car president towards his horses, and that of the capitalistic employer towards his men, it was as certainly in favor of the former. He saw to it that his stock was fed and stabled as became such stock, and at intervals they were sent to country pastures to recuperate. But no such care troubled the employer of men. Whether they were fed or sheltered or clothed as became men was no concern of his. And the country pasture was a luxury he had never even thought of giving them. It is true the horse car president, like his capitalistic brother, frequently drove his cattle to the limit of their endurance, and when they became disabled or worn out or old, he disposed of them without scruple; but again the difference was in favor of the latter, for horses were worth more than men, and it was to the owner's interest to accord them the care and treatment that would preserve them the longest. Horses had to be bought and paid for and then provided for besides, whereas men did not require any expenditure to own them; they did not even need to be owned in a property sense. Their first cost being nothing but their indifferent keep, their employer was not concerned about them in the least. It was so easy to supply the place of the disabled and worn out and aged, that no employer looked after the condition of his workers. And so far as he could see he had no motive to interest himself in their welfare or preservation

The man-machine was the cheapest machine that capital could employ considering aloue his cost and maintenance, and therefore he was given the least thought and care. From time to time other machines had been invented that worked better and more rapidly thau the man, and then the latter was disposed of with absolutely no thought or care of what would become of him. That he went to swell the great number of unemployed machines that were automatically going about hunting a job and finding none, was a matter of profound indifference to his former employer. Therefore, if he thought about it at all, it was rather with satisfaction, because he knew that every addition to the number of the unemployed made the employed cheaper and his profits by that much the greater. As compared with the street car drudges, the superfluous man-machine was again at a disadvantage. He now became what capitalized society and capitalized laws and capitalized government called a nuisance, and labelled a vagrant, an incompetent, an incapable—one of the permanently pauperized and submerged. And as between the man and the animal turned loose under such conditions to hunt their living in the world the animal had decidedly the best of it.

The machine idea had completely displaced the human in the mind of the wage employer. And it was not that he was cruel that the displacement had been wrought. The capitalist could no more be charged with cruelty in his dealings with labor than the cat in his play with the mouse. Cruelty involves an active, conscious iufliction of unnecessary pain or distress. That could not be predicated of either the cat or the capitalist. Neither could it be said of the latter that he was heartless or uufeeling, unmerciful or unjust. Those words, while uegative in form have come to be in a sense strongly affirmative of a positive feeling, and feeling in the dealings of capital with labor had been absolutely eliminated. Pure negation alone could truly represent the state of mind of the former with reference to the latter. That is, the element of justice or mercy or heart was simply absent from his consciousness either one way or the other. He did not conceive of them as having any place in his business or reckonings. That such a remarkable psychological condition is incomprehensible except perhaps as one comes to understand the industrial system under which it was developed, is readily admitted. But

that it existed, no one could successfully deny. It manifested itself in a variety of ways and wrought effects as remarkable and peculiar as the cause that produced them and equally as incomprehensible and unexplainable except as above suggested. For instance, the transformation of the laborer into the capitalist wrought at once the transformation of a conscious victim into an unconscious oppressor. And yet indeed, cruelty and oppression could no more be charged to such a transformed man than one born to the state; for as explained above, that which is necessary cannot be truly said to be either oppressive or cruel, and his new attitude now became to him both natural and necessary under the system upon which business was operated. Sometimes he was called a traitor to the class to which he formerly belonged; but he was not, any more than the imago is traitor to the larva. The metamorphosis was as natural to him under the industrial system that developed him, as that of the insect is to it.

Another instance of the wonderful effect of the condition mentioned, and perhaps the most notable instance of all, was in the strange inconsistency of the religious professions and the industrial practices of the times. Nominally, the civilization was Christian; but really as judged by its social and industrial systems, its most significant fruits, it was anti-Christ. A religion was professed that was altruistic, Socialistic and unselfish in the extreme, but life was spent in a selfish and savage struggle among men to live upon the labor of others. He who nineteen hundred years ago taught the highest type of liberty, equality and fraternity, was glorified as a God; he who practiced it today was jailed as a vagrant or submerged and permanently pauperized. "Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you," was the Golden Rule that the people praised; do unto others as you would that they should NOT do unto you, was the rule that they practiced. To love one's neighbor as one's self was the height of their religion; to live upon him was their highest ambition. And to add to the strangeness of this strange inconsistency, it usually increased in direct proportion to the amount of one's possessions. Among the poor, among the toilers of the earth, it was the least to be noticed or found. There religion and life most closely conformed; but the gap widened as the rich were reached, so that the difference between profession and practice could

largely be measured by the distance between poverty and wealth. But the most wonderful thing about the whole matter was that as the gap increased, the ability to see it decreased. The immediate and pressing physical necessities of the poor, the broad apology with which they bridged the difference between their conception of duty to their fellows and their performance of it, though substantial as the earth itself, seemed to them but weak and inadequate and they trod it but falteringly and with much self-condemnation; but the Al-Sirat which the rich had thrown across the mighty chasm between their religion and their life, though narrower than the hair-like thread which the Moslem prophet stretched between earth and heaven over an intervening hell, seemed to the narrow vision of wealth to cover it completely, and they rolled along with the comforting congratulation that it would bear them safely across; and those who had the most beatific mental visions of ethical ideals and the best opportunities of approximating them in their lives, had the least intention of doing so. And while they were the most vociferous in their ecstatic praise of the "Christian civilization" of the age, they did not seem to perceive that what they would define as "Christian" and what they would point to as "civilization," (namely, themselves,) were in antipodes. Such a curious mental and moral strabismus like the visual limitations with which is was accompanied, was the most acute in the possessors of the heaviest purses. The weight of the pocketbook seemed to have a most intimate though occult and esoteric effect upon the conscience and indeed upon all those human attributes that are usually described as domiciled in the heart. And the effect was always damaging. And so powerful was it that it seemed to be communicated in a no less degree to those who spiritually ministered to such afflicted persons. Indeed, it was frequently the case that those who devoted their lives (for a price) to the propagation of Christianity or churchianity as it had properly come to be called, were themselves the most in need of the services of a surgeon skilled in the science of ethical optics. And so completely paralyzing was this effect upon the senses touched, that it destroyed along with them all consciousness of their destruction. As the man with a paralyzed arm knows of its presence only by the uncanny swing of the shriveled member, so with these wealth dessicated and mumyfied senses and

faculties and attributes; those who were afflicted with them, if they knew of it at all, knew it only by the dread swing of their lifeless weight. But this loss of consciousness, singular as the victim was made to appear, was simply but a manifestation of the hopelessness of the malady. And in view of the uniformity of such manifestations among the capitalistic employers and possessors of fortunes generally, any attempt at the moral arousement of wealth to a realization of approaching danger might rightly be declared futile. The man who could unethically gather thousands from the necessities of those whom he called his laborers and capitalize the sweat that represented their lives and call it his, and live in luxury upon its dividends while they eked out a miserable existence in the want of their own which he possessed, and yet with apparent sincerity regard himself as THE representative of a "Christian civilization;" the man who could send his agent through tenements which he would not enter, to collect rent for apartments which even if chemically clean he would not live in for any pay and of which he would not go within two blocks from fear of offending his specialized olfactories and yet regards the moral odor which surrounds himself as partaking of the spice and myrrh of the Indies; the man who could draw on a heavy storm coat in winter over a form already thickly and warmly clad, and indifferently stride past little ones barefooted and ragged and pinched with cold, whose chattering teeth and purple lips were hardly able to form the words "paper, sir?" which they patiently called out to his deaf ears, and yet believe himself to be human and humane; the man who spends with one hand princely thousands which he has just filched with the other from hunger and poverty, and yet looks upon his luxurious and selfish expenditures as a generous "distribution" of money among the people and upon himself as a sort of God come down among men; a man who can minister to his self-esteem and vanity by establishing universities and schools and libraries and gifts to the public which he has systematically robbed and which he continues to rob, and grandly makes to a poverty stricken people a present which is really only a miserable pittance of the amount which he has squeezed from their hard earnings through a series of years, and yet really thinks himself benevolent and charitable and a benefactor to his race—such a man is hardly a hopeful subject for the moral suasionist to operate

upon. And such a man was the representative wealthy man of the times. To him in an industrial way, the people were simply machines to create him his wealth; in a social way they were machines to minister to his wants and luxurious living; while in a public way (if that is the right phrase) they ought at least to be his admirers and sycophants, nay, his incense-burners and worshippers, catering to his vanity, his self-esteem, his egotism.

The attitude of capital towards labor, of wealth towards poverty, was the result of a habit of thought on the part of the dominant class which centuries of uninterrupted ascendancy had moulded into its very character and to many seemed one of its necessary and natural attributes. And that such ascendency was directly and solely due from a remedial standpoint to the competitive wage system among producers and to private and irresponsible control of capital seems beyond dispute. It is true that it might be said to be due the individual superiority of those who manifested the ability to pocket the earth, and that the possession in a high degree of the predatory and acquisitive instincts gave them a natural advantage which under any industrial system would give them the advantage. Just as predacious and acquisitive animals have a natural advantage over other animals. Such a contention could not be denied. But that the ascendant predacious and acquisitive man had devised a system that directly tended to specialize his peculiar qualities was equally true; and that it had specialized those animal qualities was a patent every day fact of which there was visible proof in the capitalist of the times. The same offensive faculties had for centuries been ascendant in the political world and the remedy had been in changing the system under which they had such free play and adopting one which had for its object their suppression. In like manner it could not be doubted that the remedy must be directed against the system and not against the individual. Logically therefore the truth is as stated above, that from a practical remedial standpoint the fault was in the system and not in the man.

As affecting the crisis that was approaching, the machine-idea which the capitalist had formed of the working-man, and the condition of mind of the former which ignored the human qualities of the latter, had also curiously destroyed in him any practical fear of his dangerous hostility. The capitalist was

going as unconsciously to his destruction as a deaf and blind man caught in the swirling waters of the Niagara. And as said before, to him there was no war, no struggles, no battles between them. As a machine could not be said to be hostile, to be an enemy to a man; so neither could labor be practically thought of by the capitalist in such terms. It might, like any other machine, be difficult at times to operate; it might be troublesome; it might possibly at times be locally and spasmodically dangerous; but that was the extent of the capitalists practical fear of labor. On no other theory could the calmness with which he pursued his methods against the latter, and progressively intensified them in the face of the agitation that was going on, be explained. From the low plane of his selfishness it seemed to him that the narrow circle of calm waters which the oil of his wealth created immediately about his small personality, was a large part of the ocean itself, and big enough and broad and strong enough to protect him from the raging seas that might be tossing beyond. Indeed, to change the figure, so far from fearing the storm that was rising about him, he contemplated it with the same feeling of personal security and nebulous gratification with which the well-warmed and well-housed in winter listen to the noise of the warring elements without. And if to the illustration it should be added that the well-warmed and well-housed knew as they sat in the comforting light and heat of their luxurious apartments and enjoyed the storm, that thousands upon thousands of their fellow-creatures were exposed to the blasts of snow and sleet and torturing cold and were huddled in pitiful groups, shelterless, ragged and starving, dying miserable deaths; that through the protecting walls that shut them in to warmth and life, and their perishing brothers and sisters out to darkness and death they could hear the moans and cries of the suffering ones; and through their windows see the shadowy storm-swept forms of the despairing men and tortured women and clinging children as they went stumbling, reeling, staggering along in the night —then the picture of the modern capitalistic employer in his comfort and security and in his general attitude towards labor and labor troubles would be complete. Nay, not quite complete either, for somehow the artist would have to depict the fact that the luxurious individuals within the house, not only enjoyed in an animal way the outside storm and human distress

which it inflicted; but that they were the cause of the shelterless condition of the starved and naked ones without; and by a last stroke of his power he would have to limn on his canvass as the plaything of the refined civilization within, the wonderful wand of Prospero with which had been raised the tempest they had neither the heart nor the art to stay. And as the element of security is probably the underlying one in our enjoyment of the wintry storms that break upon our house, so it was with the plundering despot of industry; the one thing of which he seemed most complacently confident was that the miserable hordes without could not break into the charmed circle which his wealth had drawn around him and his personally. He did not consider himself as forming any element in the labor problem. Labor troubles were not his troubles. They belonged solely and alone to the laboring people. They could fight it out among themselves. And according to his view that was what they were doing. From his standpoint the labor trouble was simply a fight between laborers. He looked down upon their struggles with but little more personal feeling than the Roman nobles looked down upon the gladiatorial combats in the bloody circus below. And as the spectators of those barbarous human shows probably cared but little about the personal feeling of the exhibited combatants towards themselves; so the modern spectator (as the capitalist regarded himself) cared even less about what bitterness might be in the heart of the warring workers below him regarding himself. That was a matter of absolutely no importance. They could no more reach him than the baited beasts and men in the ancient amphitheater of Rome could reach the tiers of holiday barbarians that were ranged so cruelly about them. He was safe. He was entrenched within the law. He controlled its engines and the operation of all its machinery. He was the law. "Be it enacted," and "stare decisis" were but the seals of his power and government was but a method of its manifestation. What should be fear? Why should he be afraid? He could only be attacked by aggression. Aggression against the law, against him, was crime; it was lawlessness. And between him and crime, between him and lawlessness, between him and aggressive labor, there stood the power of the Nation itself. If the aggression took the form of the mob, of the riot, the barrier between him and its fury was the police, the courts, the

sheriffs and their deputies and the posse comitatus. If the riot grew to the revolution a still mightier bulwark was his—the military power of the Nation which rested on the millions of the middle classes who were depended on to sustain the "government" in its more serious crises. They were the great stone wall through which aggressive labor must batter its way before it could get at him. This powerful conservative element in the nation was at once both the true basis of his security and the most impervious obstacle to the progress of the cause of labor. From the very nature of its conservatism, as of conservatism in general, while it prevented hasty and ill-considered radical action, it also just as effectually blocked the way to necessary and wholesome reforms. And behind its stolid and stony front the forces of evil and corruption always sought to mass themselves. No; he could have no doubt of his security. The tempest might beat around him but not upon him. He was under the canvass of the Gladiatorial Circus but not in the ring, a difference which to him had in it all the vastness of the distance between heaven and hell. And whether or not labor was organized seemed to have not the weight of a straw. As long as toiler had to strive with toiler it mattered not whether they were organized or not. As long as there was a multitude of unemployed starving for work, clamoring for places already filled, the strongest Labor Organization must form but a rope of sand. As long as one could produce enough for ten the Unity of Labor under the competitive system of "private control" must be but a dream of childish hope. For as long as such conditions existed and such an industrial system prevailed, labor troubles must be largely as the capitalist conceived them to be—struggles between the laborers themselves, a striving together for places to work, for an opportunity to become his servants and supporters. And as long as they were fighting among themselves they certainly could not appear to be conducting a very vigorous campaign against their alleged oppressors. The fact seemed to be that labor having seen the effectiveness of the Organization of Capital, concluded that its power lay in its organization. And applying the faulty logic to its own miserable condition it determined that the only complete and effective remedy for it was likewise in organization alone. It lost sight of the truth that organization is not power, but simply a means of applying power and of increasing its effec-

tiveness. Now effectiveness is the very thing desired, and it depends as much upon the direction in which power is applied as upon organization. If power is directed towards an impossible result organization will not help it. Indeed, the more organizations, the more waste of power. If a forest fire is raging and a body of men start out to fight it, they could best do it of course in an organized way; but if the organized body is set to thrashing the smoke or fanning the flames they will never put out the fire, however perfect their organization. If an army, drilled and disciplined fire its shot into the air, it will never win a victory over any formidable foe, however admirable its maneuvers. If a multitude of slaves compelled to maintain themselves under masters who had places for only half of them should make a stand for freedom, they could best exert their strength through organization; but if that strength was expended only in an effort to secure a milder slavery for some of them; if it was expended under a system devised by the masters for themselves and adapted solely to their benefit, organization would never effect their freedom.

CHAPTER XI.

SOME MISTAKES OF ORGANIZED LABOR.

SO it was with labor. It had learned the power of organization, but had stopped in its reformatory progress with the half-truth. And in dynamics a half-truth is no better than a whole error. The fatal weakness lay in the false direction of the application of its organizd strength. It had continued to apply its toil under the directing, private, irresponsible control of the very foe it had organized to fight. It had failed to discover that the effective power of capital lay as much in the Industrial System under which it operated labor, as in its organization; nay, more; for in the system lay its real, natural power, while in its organization lay indeed, but an artificial means of applying it.

In the misdirection of the application of labor's organized power, in the false objective which it was pursuing, could be found the reason of its comparative failure. From the standpoint of capital, labor was but applying to itself unconsciously the suggestion of the man who would bury the devil face downward, and if he ever got out he would have to go through hell to do it. So with labor; if it ever achieved freedom by scratching down through the earth of competition, it would have to go through the fires of revolution to do it. And to this failure to grasp the whole truth might be ascribed the reason of organized labor's pitifully short application of some of the grandest principles which were even then, notwithstanding such shortened applications, moulding the hearts and minds of the people to higher conceptions of life and duty.

One of these principles, a favorite motto of the Unions, was, that "an injury to one was the concern of all." It was laid down as the basis upon which organized labor was built. And yet an "injury" as conceived by the unions, consisted in a discharge of an employed man, a cut in his wages or discrimination against him as a union man. But the unemployed man, non-union or union, the man hunting a job and finding none, the man

soul-worried for work and denied it at any price, did not enjoy an injury that was the concern of anybody. It was only to the employed union man or at most to an unemployed one discriminated against when employment was to be had that this mighty solidifying sentiment of humanity could be applied. They were apparently the only ones against whom an injury could be committed. While the truth would appear to be that the employed man who was paying practical allegiance to the system of private control of employed labor and of labor-employing industries, by accepting work under the capitalistic employer at any wages however high, was himself committing the greatest injury of all against his class fellows. Organized labor would order a strike or a boycott against an employer who refused them work, when it could perhaps be shown that these union weapons should have been directed against the capitalist who presumed to offer them employment under the system of Labor Ownership which he practically asserted over them. Speaking from the standpoint of capital again, it appeared that labor's peculiar definition of an injury and the singular limitations which it placed upon its application were as pitifully inadequate as if in olden times the chattel slaves had organized under the same great motto and had declared an injury to their fellows to be, not slavery itself, but some one of the lesser hardships which their masters occasionally imposed upon them. It was as if these union slaves had defined the greatest injury which one of their fellows could inflict upon another to be, not a submission to slavery, but a submission to any other than their particular brand of slavery and had declared a relentless war upon the serf who so far forgot his duty as to depart from their peculiar code of industrial ethics, ignoring the cruel fact that his enslaved condition physically required his submission to any hardships and to any brand of slavery which his master might impose and not perceiving that the internecine warfare so carried on must prove perpetual and force their persecuted brethren into the position of buffers to their masters against whom they had originally organized. Such a childish apprehension and application of a great principle would appear ludicrous if the serious consequences which resulted from it had not made it profoundly pitiful to the humane observer.

It was this adherence to a false industrial system, a system

that was primarily the cause of all the evils from which they suffered, that made their struggles appear hopeless of permanent success though the hopelessness did not lessen the necessity of continued effort. But aside from this most fatal error, this capital inconsistency of warring with each other over the necessary evils of a system and not upon the system itself, there appeared another only less inconsistent and fatal than the first, namely, the strange practical indifference which organized labor showed towards the unemployed. After recognizing the right of capital to the private control and practical ownership of labor and labor employing industries, it would appear that the first and most unyielding demand which the unions would have made of Master Capital would be to give employment to all. Certainly if capital claimed the right to own and control the means of production and necessarily therefore the producers themselves, then it would seem that the greatest injury which it could inflict upon labor would be to deny it access to the producing means for any cause whatever. When therefore organized labor planted itself upon the principle that "an injury to one was the concern of all," it would naturally have been supposed that this unemployed man, this most injured of their fellows, would have been the object of their first and highest concern; that around him they would have rallied all their forces and upon his wrong staked the righteousness of their cause, giving him as he deserved their heartiest, their most loyal and undaunted support. But instead of recognizing his injury as the first and greatest, it was practically not recognized at all. Nay, not satisfied with the negative stultification of their basic principle, all the power of organized labor was actually turned against this miserable unfortunate. That is to say, it was selfishly used to keep those in their places who had work, to increase their wages, to prevent a decrease, to get recognition for the unions and occasionally to secure shorter hours. After these selfish objects were effected perhaps the unemployed man would come in for a job; but the prospect wasn't very encouraging for the labor-saving machines which were being added so rapidly to productive industry were increasing the number of the employless men beyond all reasonable hope of a substantial decrease being effected by even the most powerful union of labor under the prevailing system.

To intensify this condition and destroy the faintest vestige

of such a hope, it had become the policy of capital to limit production in order to keep up prices and profits, and thus thousands of others could be added to their ranks at the nod of some industrial despot. And instead of the desperate situation of this despairing class being made the subject of the practical sympathy of organized labor, instead of its deep injury being declared the gravest of all injuries which under the industrial system in vogue could be inflicted upon a man, instead of its cause being made the first and chiefest concern of organized labor, which it would seem the astutest policy would have dictated, to say nothing of principle, (for they could hope to make no progress until this body of starving men were somehow absorbed into productive industry,) instead of all this it was made the target of bitterest attacks; for if an unemployed man should seek employment in a manner contrary to the ethical law which organized labor had established, he committed a crime for which death itself was often not too harsh a punishment. The boycott, the strike, class ostracism would be used against him until he was driven from employment or into the union. But if he took refuge in the union his condition was no better, for the union did not guarantee him work nor support and refused to recognize his employless condition as an injury to him which required any practical action in his behalf. Capital was no less merciless to him. It declared him a vagrant and a nuisance unless he got work and threatened him with the jail and the chain-gang until he did.

So he was driven to the unpleasant alternatives of starving, fighting the union or becoming a criminal. And his tribe was increasing. He was becoming an army. And yet this was the man upon whose decrease alone organized labor could hope for success along the lines it was pursuing. And that was the way it was essaying to decrease him—by starving him as a union man or killing him as a scab. In the face of such blundering inconsistencies and such treatment of its own, the wonder was that the union sentiment made any progress at all. The fact was that organized labor had made no progress in achieving any amelioration of the condition of the working classes. That it had grown in numerical strength was due solely to the insolent and inhuman attitude of the capitalistic employer. Grown overconfident, he had given full reign to his selfish greed and had literally chased the workers into the unions. The growing

Unity of Labor, aside from the natural class-sympathy that had always existed, was really more the mechanical unity of capitalistic pressure than a chemical unity arising from a realization of the benefits of organization. But as the atoms of opposing elements can be brought by pressure into such close contact that a real union will result, so with the atomic toilers under the encroachments and oppression of the employer; they were being brought (if they had not already been) into such vital touch that the unemployed though growing in numbers, were also becoming less and less disposed to play the part of buffers to capital, preferring to starve and beg and become vagrants rather than oppose the union or take the place of a "brother." The brotherhood feeling had become strong, and though organization brought THEM no practical relief, they sympathized with the spirit of the unions and shared their feeling and attitude towards their common enemy. Their common enemy was, notwithstanding, more complacent and confident and over-reaching than ever. He viewed the gropings of the blind giant with no feelings of alarm. That the scales might sometime drop from his eyes did not disturb him. It was regarded as too remote a possibility to consider seriously. That a light might arise that would pierce to his dormant power of vision and awaken it, was also improbable. And yet both the improbable and the impossible were happening. The scales were falling and the light was rising.

Trades Union methods; Trades Union objects; Trades Union interpretations, limitations and applications of golden truths; Trades Union burrowing into the earth of capitalism in its search for industrial light; Trades Union acceptance of the system of private control; Trades Unionism as a way out of slavery and misery and degradation; organization alone as a panacea for the wage-earners wrongs; failing belief in these were the falling scales whose presence had so long blinded the eyes of the laboring people. More and more they had come to see that the evils from which they suffered lay in the Industrial System that permitted and encouraged the predatory instincts of the human animal instead of restricting and placing checks upon him. More and more they had come to see that effort was fruitless, that organization was powerless, that union was unavailing however ably directed under the prevailing employing system.

The consciousness too, was growing upon them, that capital so far from fearing the unions or their weapons, was actually making them its playthings; was corrupting their leaders; creating dissentions in their ranks and actually forcing strikes and boycotts to bull and bear its stocks, to raise and lower prices and to exploit in various ways both producers and consumers. But though faith in unionism, as then understood and practiced, waned as their vision cleared; though they saw that their organized strength ought to be turned against the Industrial System through which their slavery had been wrought, they would not so direct it, notwithstanding the almost unbearable oppression of capital, until a new system had been devised that would stand the practical test of an objective demonstration. They would have no theories, no ideals, no Edenic plan adapted to the pre-satanic innocence of human nature under a primeval environment; but a system adapted to modern civilization with its herds of men, its crowded cities, its intricate life, its division of labor, its labor-saving machines and its large enterprises; a system adapted to the practical understanding, operation and control of the working people and to human nature as substantially evidenced in the actions of men. And the new system for which they were bravely and patiently waiting, though a revolution, an appeal to arms, though the blood and smoke of battle might be necessary to bring it fully about, must itself be not a revolution but an evolution. That is to say, it must be seen to be a natural development from the old, with the useless and therefore burdensome appendages of the latter dropped and its useful features preserved and adapted to the new and growing powers of the times. And so anti-anarchistic were the American people, so functional had become the principle of self-government among them, that though tempted almost beyond endurance, they would not destroy until they could see a way to rebuild, and the rebuilding must keep pace with the destruction.

The New Industrial System for which they had so long been waiting and looking had at last arisen. The Industrial Socialists had presented in the industrial plan which they had adopted, a method of reform and reconstruction, practicable and safe. And the Trades Union Army was now preparing to exert its organized strength in the only display of force necessary, namely—to burst the bonds of technical legal right by

which, under the sacred names of constitutional guarantees, court decrees, legislative enactments and vested rights, capital had through its corrupted and class-influenced courts and congresses so skillfully bound the old industrial system to the political, that to unravel peacefully would be, if not practically impossible, so tedious and slow as to be intolerable to the toiling victims whom it had reduced to a practical, perpetual daily dependence upon it for access to the means of supporting life, and before whom was displayed a practical system of Industrial Freedom within their grasp but for those unnatural bonds.

Organized labor (thanks to the oppression of capital that had forced it into organizing) was now ready for the revolution which alone is ever justifiable or substantially effective—the revolution that is directed against those artificial barriers which class, through its manipulation of law and government, has erected across the path of Human Progress.

And yet the capitalistic employer, idolatrous of self, contemptuous of his labor-slaves, his man-machines by whom he was supported; secure in the belief that the bonds could never be broken which he had so firmly wound about what in his Christian Phariseeism and superior power he sometimes smilingly called the "many-headed-monster," the people, complacently and confidently proceeded to the undreamed destruction that awaited him. He had mistaken the revolutionary power of Organized Labor to strike an effective blow for freedom. He had mistaken patience for submission and perplexity for impotence.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY.

IN marked contrast with the formal meetings of the working people in their societies and unions and delegated assemblies, were the gatherings of their controlling employers. The former were characterized by a seriousness that was individual and personal, by a manifest feeling that they were assembled for mutual self-protection against a common aggressor and by a potentiality of tragedy revealed in their reports of strikes and lock-outs and relief funds and boycotts and arbitrations and grievances, that was none the less grave because it was common-place. They gave one the impression of being councils of war on the part of those sorely besieged or against whom was going the tide of battle. And that was what they really were.

The latter on the contrary were simply business conferences among men who knew what they wanted and how to go about getting it. There was no individual or personal concern displayed or felt. If there should be any gravity or seriousness in the situation which they were met to discuss, it was only a business gravity and seriousness. It did not affect them in an individual or physical way. The morrow's bread and clothing and living did not depend upon it. It was simply a matter of more or less dividends, more or less plunder, more or less power for the corporations or trusts which they represented. Their meetings, though they had their societies and associations too, were for the most part informal and often with a rich veneering of the social and convivial and luxurious. Their gathering places were bank parlors, private offices of corporation presidents, back rooms of stock exchanges and banqueting apartments of aristocratic caterers. Sometimes they met simply on invitation of some of the more powerful among them to complete the details of policies upon which there was already a partial, positive agreement or tacit understanding. And frequently the most powerful combinations and audacious and unlawful conspiracies were effected at

these most informal conferences. Indeed it had become the favorite method of the capitalists of the time to resort to such informalities for consultation and agreement when some particularly "important" matter was to be undertaken. It relieved them of much of the "embarassment" that might arise from a too strict adherence to business forms in the way of memoranda of agreements, written contracts and other tangible evidence of various kinds. And besides they were not needed among men whose honor was bounded alone by their self-interest, especially when the advancement of those interests was the sole object of such conferences. A "gentleman's agreement" was all that was necessary. It had been so, since at least the days of Robin Hood, and the capitalists of the nineteenth century would not be the first to break so ancient and honorable a tradition concerning the ethics of their profession.

It was to one of these most informal conferences that a number of the most powerful "industrial magnates" of the land were gathered near the close of the last century. That the great employers of the country had under consideration a plan of concerted action of some kind inimical to organized labor could not be doubted. But it could not be said that the meeting of the barons of wealth on this occasion was secret in any sense except that it was a private assembly of corporation presidents in an unofficial capacity in the private offices of one of their number for the discussion of matters pertaining to their common interests which they did not care to make public. The New York papers, for it was in that stronghold of capital that they met. had the usual account of their arrival in the city, but as the reporters were told that there was nothing to give out, too much respect was had for their influence to make any further mention of their movements.

It was the flower of the capitalistic system of the private and irresponsible control of industry that assembled in the sumptuous offices of the manager of one of the greatest railroad systems on the continent. The forty men who composed the gathering represented the business element of the times in the highest state of development, at once at its best and worst. They had the confident air of conquerors, of men with power and in authority over their fellow men, and the solid, substantial look which success always assumes. The air was not always a noble one, indeed among many of them that de-

sirable quality was quite lacking; but it was always confident and conquering. And the solid, substantial look was sometimes rather beefy and bulldoggish, but it was always a successful look. They showed in every glance of the eye and movement of the body that they were alive in every nerve and brain-cell of their anatomy, predaciously alive that is, as one would perhaps wish to qualify it after a business interview with any one of them, for the alertness of intellect which they undoubtedly exhibited, whether in lineament or expression, in voice or manner, was rather feline than benevolent or philanthropic. And yet there were a number among them, indeed most of them in a way, who were noted for their philanthropy, public spirit and generosity as such terms were understood and interpreted by the civilization of the period which these men represented. But however disparagingly the fact might correctly be stated, the fact remained that intellectually they were active, alert and masterful. They had a broad and comprehensive grasp of all matters that pertained to the business in which they were engaged. They read men as a scholar reads books—with a glance of instant judgment that classified them at once. Men were their tools, their stock in trade, their true capital. And in that sentence lay the secret of their power. Nay, in it lies the secret of all oppressive industrial power. Capital may be said in a general way to be anything used in the getting of what we desire. The capital of the woodman is his axe and the wood; that of the farmer is his land and agricultural implements; the miner's capital is ore beds and tools; the railroad man's is his road and rolling-stock; the telegrapher's is his lines and instruments. As long now as the woodman himself uses his axe, the farmer his implements, the miner his tools, the railroader his cars and the telegrapher his instruments—he is not, strange to say, a capitalist, but a laborer, a workingman. But let the woodman turn over his axe to another man and use him to chop his wood, and likewise the farmer, the miner, the railroad man and the telegrapher, and each straightway becomes a capitalist. That is to say, a capitalist is a man whose capital is other men. Of course, the accepted fiction is that it is the axe, the land, the tools, the cars and the telegraph instruments in the other men's hands that he is using; but the labor of these men, the men themselves are much more his real capital than the material things which he places at their

use. As men become the users of men, they become capitalists. And as the control of material capital had been private and irresponsible, so it had come about that the capitalist's control of his human capital was likewise private and irresponsible. And herein lay the viciousness of the employing system of the times. It was not in interest, not in wages, not in profit in themselves considered, but in the private and irresponsible use of men by men. That constitutes slavery. That constitutes despotism. That constitutes oppression and has constituted them among every race and in every age since the beginning of time, and to it can be traced with the certainty of a demonstration the downfall and degradation of every government and people that have written their tragic history in the chronicles of time. No human system that deals with humans, whether political, social, industrial or ecclesiastical, can be erected upon that principle without resulting in misery, degradation, slavery and oblivion for the people over whom it exercises its power. The history of the world has been but the history of the vain struggle of men against the inevitable result of such systems.

But the captains of industry, capturers of industry rather, who were gathered in the council chambers of their confrere to devise a more efficient handling of their "capital," were not interested in the ultimate, inevitable results of anything that went beyond their business. They understood the principle, however, perfectly. They knew that it was men they were using. Money, bonds, stocks, railroads, land, mines, factories —these were but the outward show, the material things upon which they based their legal claims to men; these were but the wires; it was the puppet slaves at the end of them that they manipulated. They understood that; and the man who did not understand it and act upon it, could never hope to come into their august presence as one of them. The simple innocent who limited his conception of capital to "invested cost," was branded an "incompetent," and promptly "submerged;" and if he did not become a tramp and a vagrant it was because the Goddess of Luck that presided at his birth, had secured him an humble place in the captive train of some industrial conqueror. It was only a man who could take a railroad, the actual, genuine invested cost of which was fifteen thousand dollars per mile and capitalize the employes and patrons along the line to the ex-

tent of fifty thousand dollars per mile, that could ever become a railroad king of those times. It was only the man who could take his coal mines, or his factories or mills and combine them into monopolies and trusts and hook his actual investment of a million on to fifty or a hundred million dollars worth of human beings whom he capitalized under the name and style of stock and bonds and listed on 'change and bought and sold and bulled and beared into helpless slavery; it was only such a man who could ever become a baron or a prince or Napoleon of finance or array himself in the purple and power of an industrial potentate. And such a man was each one of the royal gentlemen here convened. And in such manner had the mighty fortunes which they possessed been accumulated; for it was only in such manner that such fortunes could be accumulated. And why should they not possess them? They were lying around loose, as it were. The industrial system permitted them to be had for the asking; yea, for the picking up without the asking, and why not capitalize the productive capacity of a people and privately control it and pour its revenue into their own private coffers? The law allowed it and the people sanctioned it, and if these men did not take advantage of such opportunities the next man who came along with a highly developed bump of acquisitiveness for other people's property, would gather them in, and he might be a bad man who would not be a patriot and philanthropist and friend to the people like as they were. It is true that every dollar of capitalization beyond actual investment meant a day's labor confiscated from some poor unfortunate or mortgaged upon another, and appropriated to the private use of the honorable confiscator and mortgagor; and that such confiscation ran directly counter to an ancient statute that said "Thou shalt not steal," troubled them not at all. The ethical standard of the times which their vicious industrial system had necessarily developed did not so interpret it, and their consciences were unscarred by the brutal Angle-Saxon of the barbarous past. They were scrupulously honest, according to the standard mentioned. Their engagements and contracts were kept to the letter with religious promptness and exactness. They guarded their honor as the gambler his sporting reputation. It might be said, indeed, without disparagement, that the latter's code was the one they followed. They would no more transgress the business rules

which they had established, than they would steal in a common, plebian way. To filch a purse or to empty a pocket was to their minds just about the most unpardonable crime in the calendar. To organize a company with a hundred thousand dollars capital and issue bonds and stocks for a million, was the best passport to their most respectful regard.

There are some people who might regard such mental and moral attitudes as inconsistent, but it could never be discovered that they did. They simply added that much human capital to their money capital; and the dividends squeezed from patrons and employes justified them to the "world" and to themselves. They were honorable men and just and eminently respectable. And they were humane. If they made merchandise of men and women and little children; if they capitalized the wants and necessities of their fellow creatures and extracted their princely revenues from the toil of starving labor that was sinking under the slavery to which the extracting process subjected it; if they did anything that an unrefined person might regard as barbarous, it was never otherwise than in a business way and always in strict accordance with the rules of the game—that is, the system under which they operated. They had the utmost regard for the proprieties. If a transaction was regular and in accord with business customs, that fact settled all other questions in regard to it. No further inquiry was necessary. It was held, indeed, as rather ungenerous or as an evidence of mental crankiness to carry responsibility further. And as these men represented the honesty and honor and humanity of the business world, that is, the capitalistic world in its most orthodox development, so they represented its accepted philosophy in regard to social and industrial conditions. The simplicity of that philosophy was as charming as its logic was irrefutable. It could be stated in two axioms: "Whatever is, is right," and "the right," (i.e., the status quo) "must be maintained." Fatalism? Yes. The doctrine of necessary evil was the logical conclusion and these caliphs of capital taught it with the most cheerful serenity and untiring iteracy. Poverty was a necessary evil. Of course. And if they helped it along by their business methods, why those methods were a necessity of the times, and if evil, therefore, a necessary evil. Over-much wealth was an evil. Well,

yes, possibly it was; but it, too, could be shown to be very necessary. Whatever was evil in society or industry, in systems or government, in business methods, in business humanity, in business morals, was a necessary evil to be borne with resignation and fortitude. And they set an example by bearing their share with great cheerfulness. In fact so complete was their resignation to prevailing conditions, that they viewed any attempt at change with a disfavor so distinct as to grow to indignation as the attempt showed chances of success. It was a reflection on Providence to propose remedies; it was impious to repine; it was anarchy to agitate. The reformer was either a degenerate or a natural; either a vicious man or a fool. Their philosophy was the apotheosis of conservatism, and they were its high priests. They had built the mighty super-structure of their wealth upon a mountain of massed humanity. And whatever their press fulminated or their pulpits thundered or their courts decreed or their legislatures enacted, it meant but one thing—"keep quiet below there." They represented therefore, the law and order element. They believed profoundly in maintaining law and order "among the people," and although they owned most of the wealth of the country, they were always willing to submit to any amount of indirect taxation to support the government. But whatever else they might have been —patriots, philosophers, philanthropists, public spirited citizens, above all they were practical men. They dreamed no day dreams, built no cloud castles, wrote no Utopias. They speculated in stocks and bonds but not in the millenium. They operated in shares, but took none in the Brotherhood of Man. They worked reorganization schemes for railroads and trusts but none for society or government or industry. They had no sentiment that did not yield a per cent and no ideal that did not declare dividends. They measured reforms by their potential revenues and the practical by that which paid. They prided themselves on taking men as they found them, but made no reference as to how they left them. They took men as they found them, not to do good unto them, not to make them better, but simply to use them. The man they could not use was a superfluous man, and it was a part of the practical to suppress the superfluous. Their standard of value was the dollar; wealth was their measure of success, and coin their universal solvent.

CHAPTER XIII.

INDIVIDUALISM.

AND these were the men who by their private and irresponsible control of the immense wealth which they had accumulated, wielded a power more despotic than the Caesars. In their hands they held the destinies of millions of their countrymen. "Woe, rapture, penury, wealth, throughout the vast realm of the republic, were theirs to dispense, to withhold." The currents of trade flowed free through the nation or stood stagnant in its arteries at their command. In their breath there breathed the spirit of the pestilence or the balm of spring. From their far-reaching hands there dropped the thunderbolt or life-sustaining manna. At their pleasure the fires on a million hearthstones burned brightly, smouldered sadly or were quenched entirely. At their pleasure, homes blossomed or grew desolate, families rejoiced together or were scattered, and hearts beat high with hope or sunk with despair. The miracles of Moses were discounted by these modern magicians of wealth. The gods of old had again come down among men, and at their nod, food, raiment, shelter, were given or denied. Their smile was sunshine, their frown a blighting shadow unto the multitude that depended upon their power. This handful of weak mortality, wielding the power of Omnipotence, had under their direct control in the labor-employing industries which they owned, more than two millions of men, actual laborers on the railroads, in the mines and mills and shops and factories which they operated. Two millions more were subject to control which these men could directly influence. Add to these four million toilers the twelve million dependent upon them by family ties, and we have the vast number of sixteen million human beings subject to the direct influence of these forty capitalists. Nor was this all; for the manipulation of this mighty industrial power could be felt to the uttermost limits of the republic, and affected every one of its eighty millions of population for good or ill, as it suited the caprices of the manipulators. And yet there were those who believed

that the industrial system which permitted the private and irresponsible control of such stupendous power, was a necessary system and the only one adapted to the development of the individual. These princes of the republic themselves firmly believed it. Nothing could exceed the savage vindictiveness with which they and their class always resented any interference with the private control of "business," and the power and privileges which that business, so controlled, conferred upon them. The system of private control, the system by which a half million individuals were chained to the conquering chariot wheels of one, they declared to be a system of individualism, and individualism was the only system adapted to man. The whole animal economy of the universe was evidence of its divinity and the entire brute creation of earth, its exponents. The deft handler of knuckles and club has always been an individualist. The first savage of primitive ages who conquered his neighbors by the might of muscle was its earliest advocate. And his descendants wherever found, at the head of ravaging armies, on thrones of despots, among the privileged caste and class, have always been his consistent followers. Scratch the thin veneering of so-called refinement with which the latter in later times had varnished themselves, and you found their ancestral prototypes—the savage, with all his basest qualities well preserved. They who profited most by their wholesale suppression of the individual in fact, in theory became most solicitous about him. Their individualism was the individualism of the tiger and the cat among beasts, of the spider among insects, of the cannibal among men. It was the individualism of war. Of the higher and nobler individualism of peace, they had no adequate conception. The individualism of true civilization, of Christian manhood, of men, as social, gregarious beings, they preferred to ignore or to denounce. That there were nobler insects than the spider, nobler beasts than the cat, nobler men than the cannibal, they practically would never admit.

These levelers down of humanity declared that any system of leveling up was a vicious system. Sole ploughers of the plain, they claimed also the right to live on the plateau. Enslavers of the individual, they drew a sacred circle about their own individuality. And this right to level down, to plough the plain, to enslave individuals, they called individualism; while

the right claimed by others to level up, to live on the resulting plateau, to draw a circle about their individuality, they called communism. And if there was anything which the communists of wealth, these Socialists of capital abhorred, it was any other sort of communism than their own. The communism of industry, the Socialism of Co-operative toil, was their especial nauseate. They were loud and fierce in declaring that such a system would be a despotism, a tyranny, a slavery more desperate than any the world had ever seen. The despots of labor, the tyrants of toil, the masters of wage slaves were very solicitous that there should be no worse system than their own foisted upon the "people." Socialism will result in a dead level of stagnant mediocrity, says these disinterested champions of self, the capitalists. "Our system develops the man. Look at our magnificent proportions." "But it dwarfs the multitude," replies some one. "To hell with the multitude," answers these so-called individualists; "we said it develops the man." "But the multitude is composed of men," persists the other. "Anarchy! Call out the troops!" shout these champions in a rage of terror.

There are those who may regard this description of the position and contentions of the upholders of the industrial system of private control as unfair, ironical and overdrawn, but it is not. In fact, it falls far short of the truth. It was not only contended that this system which permitted these forty men to control sixteen millions of their fellows, was a system of individualism, but that it was the only possible, practical kind of individualism. Nor were the advocates and apologists of the system confined to its beneficiaries alone; but it found able and brilliant defenders among the theorists and philosophers of the times. They laid down the broad principle that the individual should be allowed full and free opportunities for the development of all his powers. Block by block they built upon it the logical propositions that powers can only be developed by effort, that effort requires incentive and that incentive depends upon desire and hope of attainment. By way of completing their forensic structure, they continued—deny desire, destroy hope of attainment and you destroy incentive; no incentive, no effort; no effort, no development; no development, no man. The need of mankind, therefore, is a system that will develop the individual; the system of private control developed the individual (as they could prove by pointing to some whom it had

developed) and therefore, it is the system which we need. But when confronted by the fact that the few individuals which their systems developed had themselves struck hope from out the hearts of millions and destroyed their opportunities of life, they replied that it was the fault of the millions and not of the system, and fell back upon the doctrine of the "survival of the fittest," a doctrine that has no more relation to the problem under discussion than arctic snows to tropic sunshine.

Fitness depends upon environment. The fit in one zone are the unfit in another. The successive ages of the world produced a succession of organic life adapted to them. As the environment changed, its creatures changed. Survival proves adaptation to environment, but nothing more. It proves nothing as to the desirability of the environment except perhaps to the particular creatures adapted to it. A different environment might prove the fitness of nobler beings to survive. And the physical history of the earth has shown such to be the case. A higher type of creature has appeared with every change of environment. Now, systems bear the same relation to social life that climate does to the physical. Social systems largely constitute the social environment of man, just as climatic conditions largely create his physical environment. The fittest, that is those adapted to a social system, to their social environment, survive and thrive under it, just as the animal best fitted to his physical environment survives and thrives. If that physical environment is especially adapted to tigers, then tigers survive because they are fittest. If the social environment is best adapted to the social cannibal, then the cannibal is the fittest and he survives. But the fact that he survives, that he is the fittest, does not prove that the environment, the social system which created him is the fittest and best. In fact, he is the best evidence of its viciousness and unfitness for a high and noble type of man. His survival, his fitness, is the best argument against the survival and fitness of the environment.

Nor could these philosophic defenders of so-called individualism claim that environment is a fixed thing so far as its creatures are concerned. For man, the very creature about whom they were arguing, is an exception to that universal fact. He is the one creature that has the power to modify and change his environment, physical as well as social. Born amidst the

tropics, he has conquered zone after zone until he possesses the earth. And the semi-frigid regions where once he existed, if at all, only in a sporadic way, have now become the habitat of his most vigorous representatives. If he had power to modify and alter his physical environment, how much more was he master of the social? Social and industrial systems were his creations; and though he in turn was subject to the moulding influence of the systems which he created, he never wholly lost the power of modifying and moulding them. At least the instant he did so marked the moment of time when the nation or race to which he belonged took up its march to degeneracy, extinction and oblivion; or rather, marked its arrival in those dark realms. Sometimes those modifying, moulding processes were characterized by explosions called revolutions; but more often their existence could only be detected by those more peaceful and silent evolutionary movements called agitation. For agitation is but the name given to the struggle of those unfitted to the prevailing environment, to mould that environment to their needs. And as the history of the ages shows that a higher type of creature is being continually evolved, it is the complacent conclusion of the writer, that the agitators are made of finer clay than the "fit."

The doctrine of the survival of the "fittest" does not therefore prove their moral right to exist. In fact, the character of some things is sufficient warrant not only for their extinction but for the extinction of the conditions that develop them.

So it was with the individualism of the times and the industrial system based upon it; the character of the individuals whom it produced was in itself the highest justification for the industrial extinguishment of both them and the system. The individualism that excuses one man in darkening the lives of millions on the ground of the survival of the fittest, is the individualism of the animal, the individualism of force, the individualism that makes might, right. Its defenders forget that as we leave the animal and rise into the realms of the human, the doctrine of right is shifted to entirely different grounds. Abstract justice asserts its determined power upon all questions. The moral and spiritual appear. The conscience reigns. The divine right of any man or class to aught but justice falls down before it, and the right of the beggar to be weighed in the same scales that weigh the king or the capitalist is established

upon the earth. The individualism of the animal is no more the individualism of man in society than the freedom of the one is the freedom of the other. The former is simply a unit upon the earth separate and distinct from every other unit. Its right is perhaps that of might, for it is a physical right and forms the basis of the law of the survival of the fittest. The latter is a unit of an organism, society, and directly or immediately connected with every other unit. His right is justice from the other units, to the end that his development may be symmetrical with the rest of the organism; his duty is justice to the other units, to the end that their development may be like unto his. And the unit that demands more or performs less than that is a criminal unit and deserves the criminal's punishment—expulsion to the chain-gang. The unit that claims and exercises opportunities for development so abnormal as to require the dwarfing of a multitude of other units to effect it, is the diseased unit and needs the physician or the surgeon, the reformer or the revolutionist, to reduce him. And yet the criminal and diseased units are representative effects of the application of animal individualism to the social and industrial organism.

Long ago in the political world such individualism had been seen to result in military despotisms, unlimited monarchies, official tyranny and a degraded people, and along with the "right of the fittest to survive" had been sent into the limbo of detected error and mistake. Representative and constitutional government succeeded. A government that depended for its just powers upon the consent of the governed was proposed. A system of checks and restraints was established; and the wielder of power was made responsible to the people concerned. The diseased and criminal units were thus "reduced" to their proper relation to the political organism. Socialism? Yes; but nobody called it so. Socialism was an epithet in those dark times. It was a term to damn things with. And so the philosophers of individualism by some hocus-pocus of their logic claimed the new political system as their own. But though the industrial organism was simply reaching out for the like means of discipline for its despotic units; though it was pursuing the same path towards responsible industrial government; though it was wrestling with the same animal individualism which the political organism had crushed, it was

met with the frowns of philosophers, the denunciation of stupid conservatism and the active opposition of the entrenched kings and kaisers, Czars and Caesars of capital who held sway over it. As the people, however, as citizens had climbed up to political freedom over similar obstacles, so neither could their progress as toilers be stayed forever by them. The industrial world could no longer be confused by the terminology of philosophers. Schools and universities and religious institutions were jarred to their foundations for daring to teach these mighty truths; and ancient and modern governmental systems alike were threatened with destruction for refusing to acknowledge them. The industrial world saw that the "right" of the fittest to survive was a physical and not a moral right; it saw that animal individualism was fit only for animals; it saw that the Ogre of Socialism was simply organic individualism perfecting the symmetry of both the organism and the individual; and it saw that justice went deeper than vested, artificial right, and rose higher than any physical or intellectual might. And it was determined that the man who aspired to industrial power should pass the scrutiny of his fellows and render an account of his stewardship according to forms which they would establish.

But the representatives of animal individualism who were gathered together on this occasion reckoned differently. They firmly believed that their vested artificial rights and the vast might of their acquisitive intellectuality, gave them sacred warrant for any action they might choose to undertake. And they did not regard themselves as made of the stuff that renders account to any power. Any proposition to that effect would have been looked upon as no less than audacious blasphemy. They had been so used to wielding the power of omnipotence over their plebian brothers that they were now ready to try a collision with the car of the creator himself. The juggernaut of evolution was to be indefinitely sidetracked. The right of way was theirs if the power of capital could secure it. And in view of the immense wealth which they "possessed," of the national monopolies which they "controlled," and the vast system of interlocked industries which they "operated" under the form of trusts and associated corporations, their boldness could not be declared rash nor their confidence unfounded. Their far-reaching power was undoubtedly great. That they could produce

mighty effects upon the nation and the whole mass of the people could not be disputed. The barons of feudal times who made and unmade kings, who established and overturned governments, had not more power to effect nations and people in a political and military way than had these men in an industrial way. Nay, capital had become far mightier than the sword had ever been, and the glittering blade that once had flashed across the earth the lightnings of its imperial power was now but one of the degraded tools of the modern masters of the world, the capitalists.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CABAL OF PROPERTY.

AND this was a gathering of capitalists. The lowest figures by which the least of them could be represented was not less than two hundred millions of dollars. And the wealth here gathered in conference ranged from that modest sum to three quarters of a billion. It is not to be understood that these figures represent the individual wealth of the persons referred to, though that was great, averaging more than fifty millions apiece and aggregating the enormous total of two thousand millions as the personal fortunes of forty men, which they felt no embarrassment in claiming to have justly acquired and justly possessed The income of one of the members of this group of industrial kings according to the report of a congressional investigating committee was seven million dollars per annum. From the same report it is found that the annual revenue of another was five millions, of another four millions and of another two millions, while that of the least of them hovered close around the million. But not content with these annual incomes, vast beyond the dream of oriental despots, each one of this private gathering of private citizens of the republic, accepted from the corporation he represented, from one hundred to two hundred thousand dollars per year as official salary. And when it is remembered that a dollar per day was the average earning of the labor that produced the wealth which was thus gathered annually from them in such plethoric store for the private use of irresponsible, private power; when it is remembered that three hundred dollars was the average yearly earning of labor that toiled ten hours per day for three hundred days in the year, a simple calculation will show that at that rate to produce the income of the mightiest of these men, the labor of more than twenty-three thousand men was annually required. The Individualism of Private Industrial Control had then produced an individual who in one year absorbed from productive labor an amount exceeding the earn-

ings of twenty-three thousand faithful, intelligent toilers, faithfully and intelligently employed; and it had produced forty individuals whose collective annual incomes required the labor of more than a quarter of a million of other individuals to produce it. The history of the chattel slavery of the world can not furnish an instance of the subserviency of such multitudes to the industrial power of individuals as the foregoing figures exhibit. The nearest approach can be found only in the palmiest days of rottenest Rome. The records of the times, to be found in the newspapers and magazines show other facts which are in beautiful correlation with these. They show that the number of the unemployed needing work and eagerly seeking it but finding it not, was conservatively estimated to be not less than two millions of people; while many millions more were daily haunted by the specter of poverty that continually followed them at less than a day's journey behind. Millions of toiling men and women and children gave ten long hours of labor for a pittance so miserable as barely to sustain physical life. But immense as was the personal wealth-power of these forty individuals, it paled into insignificance before that of the corporations and trusts which they represented and officially controlled. Here the figures grow to the incredible and appalling when we remember that the power for which they stand was exercised by private individuals practically responsible to no authority. The proportion of the products of toil which they extracted from the toiler was subject to no exterior control. The relation which the dividends they declared, bore to the actual capital legitimately involved, could not be inspected nor inquired into. Extortion could not be prevented, injuries redressed, nor oppression punished. The capitalization of the corporations here represented ran into the billions and they practically covered the whole field of national industry. The simple recital of a few of the figures and a few of the industries affected will in itself be sufficient to give any one a comprehensive idea of the industrial situation of the times and the resulting condition of the people. It must first be understood that the organizing spirit which became characteristic of the movements of capital during the last half of the century, had proceeded to such lengths that all the corporations and companies engaged in any great line of industry had by a series of successive combinations been united

into a single gigantic central association which practically controlled that line of industry throughout the nation. The process was a simple one. Local, competing operators first informally united to establish prices, fix wages and limit competition generally within the territory tributary to them. The beneficial effects of the operators were unmistakable. The informal union became formal, permanent and legal. The capital of all was joined together, the corporation formed, a single large establishment created, and production cheapened but not prices, neither were wages increased. The "operators" prospered. Other local companies in other localities likewise hastened to combine. Thus far the movement had in it nothing particularly novel or alarming. Competing firms in near neighborhoods had frequently done so in the past. But the locally big corporation now became more numerous and common. It became the thing. Local injustice and oppression were frequent, but was largely prevented by competition from other localities and by public opinion. The railroad and the telegraph had appeared however and as these means of rapid transportation and communication were perfected and extended the idea of locality changed. It enlarged. It stretched to the limits of the republic. To the business man, the wide expanse of the nation itself was but a "locality." And as the idea of the "local" expanded, the organizing power expanded with it. The local corporations rapidly combined throughout large districts. The State and National Trust sprang into existence, and the subjugation of that industry to the power of the "operators" became complete. The results were startling in the extreme. Competition was now destroyed, and the power to control production and prices and wages became by far the largest portion of the "capital stock" of the management. Indeed, as has been already said, the capitalization of the trust had now no necessary reference to the amount of money actually invested, but was limited solely to its taxing power over its patrons and laborers, and that taxing power was limited only by the necessities of the consumer and his ability to pay, and to the lowest living requirements of the producer. For all "practical purposes" the producer and consumer had become the "property" of the trust. And to complete the ignominy and humiliation of the situation, the organizers of these gigantic companies had taken this "property," their fellow citi-

zens whom they had capitalized into "shares" and "bonds," and sold them to aliens and foreigners by whom a very large proportion of the "capital" of the country was now owned. The enormous private fortunes just described were largely accumulated by such processes. The people had not been slow to see and feel the growing power of these vast corporations over them. They had early become alarmed and through their governmental organs sought to stay the progress of the slavery to which they were being reduced; but capital under the system of Private Control, always the nomad and pirate of the industrial world, became the debaucher of the political; and by finesse and cunning, by corruption and bribery practiced upon party leaders and legislatures and courts, had succeeded in frustrating every attempt of the public to regulate or control it. Its retainers sat in every department of government; its paid lobbyists swarmed everywhere that authority resided; its corrupters and defilers, its tacticians and strategists, an army of brilliant and capable men but industrially without conscience or principle, guarded every constitutional avenue by which the people could lawfully approach it. The public will was paralyzed by methods which these men devised and popular government was practically dead so far as the corporations and trusts were concerned. Indeed, the people themselves from the first seemed to feel in a dim, unconscious, inarticulate way the futility of attempting to control them. In the same nebulous way, they seemed to realize the inconsistency of asserting the right to "regulate" business while granting the right of private control. They saw too, that the principle of organizing and centralizing productive power was economically correct. They saw that industrial conditions not only made the trust system of production desirable but imperative. They saw that it made practicable the use of the valuable but expensive labor-saving machinery that was just then becoming so plentiful. And they realized that it made possible an immense saving in unnecessary effort, unnecessary competition and unnecessary management. They knew that if its benefits could be equitably distributed among consumers, producers and operators (capital) that the result would be a substantial addition to the property of all. But how to effect that; how to divorce the industrial system of the trusts

from their exploiting system; how, in other words, to wrench control of the system from the hands of its distorters, their oppressors, was the supreme question which they had not worked out; and it remained unanswered until the Industrial Socialists offered the practical object lesson of their comprehensive industrial plan. But the managers of the trust system did not content themselves with organizing single lines of industries. They began to reach out for those that were naturally allied. If any business closely affected another business, the two were at once combined and conducted by a common management. The Iron and Steel Trust was an example of this. Its president was in the throng of the forty. He was in close consultation with the railway president and the great organizer of the Standard Oil and Mining monopoly. Here was represented a trium-virate of industrial power whose schemes and manipulations threatened to destroy the industrial freedom of a nation. Nay, they had already done so. Their combinations had many interests in common. The corporation over which the Iron King presided included not only all the iron companies and corporations of any importance in the country, operating practically all the furnaces and smelters, reduction works and factories and shops that dealt in the crude material, but it also owned and operated the mines themselves. Wherever valuable deposits of the mineral had been developed, in the south, the central west, the north along the lakes as well as in the east, they had been covered by the combine until the sources of supply were held securely by the trust. Then one by one it had taken a multitude of lesser trusts that had organized the various lines of the iron industry. For instance, it had absorbed the Merchants Steel trust with a capital of thirty millions, the trust in structural steel, in sheet steel, in steel rails, in Illinois steel, with capital respectively of eight millions, three millions, seventy millions and sixty millions. It held the stock of the Iron League of New York, with a capital of sixty million dollars; the stock of the American Steel and Wire company with its capital of ninety million dollars and controlling the wire industry of the United States; the American Steel and Iron company, of Philadelphia, of the steel and iron trust of Missouri and the iron and coal trust of Alabama, with capital of twenty millions, twenty-one millions and twenty-five millions respectively. It held

stock in various coal mines that furnished their fuel, in railway companies and lake steamship lines that handled their goods either as ores or finished products. And the generalissimo of this horde of business men, of this aggregation of business enterprises, was the president of the trust. The enormous salary which he helped to vote himself was compensation for the use of his "talents" in directing these, his subordinates into their several lines of "work." Large sums were annually placed at his disposal and posted to the "expense" account without question from any source. A slush fund was part of the "fixed charges" of every "respectable" corporation. The capital stock of the National Iron and Steel trust over which this man held sway was officially given as four hundred and fifty-six millions of dollars.

The number of men employed by the various companies belonging to the trust, included practically all that were engaged in the iron and steel producing industries throughout the nation, and according to the census of the period could not have been less than one million including the thousands employed in the allied coal mines and transportation companies. This vast army of men were absolutely dependent upon the trust. Outside its corporations they could find no employment at their trades anywhere because their trades were controlled by the trust. To quit work in one establishment was but to seek it in another operated by the same management. They were the property of the combine in every sense except a chattel legal sense. Their wages, their hours of labor, their employment, their discharge were determined by the trust and continually subject to its manipulations. It is true that a very large majority of its employes were union men; and the unions were supposed to have a voice in all matters concerning its men but the supposition was a delusion. Organized labor was the victim of a confidence game worked by capital. If anything was apparently conceded to the unions, it was because the trust controlled the situation, and the concession was only apparent, never real. Able to control production, to transfer orders from one establishment to another, to shut factories here and shops there, to close these mines or those mills, destroyed the effect of any demands that the union might make. In so far as a necessary, enforced and unescapable industrial dependence constitutes slavery, bondage and servitude,

so far were these million laborers the slaves, the bond-men and the servants of this handful of mortals. And only in a less degree was the general public itself a victim. The prices of the trust were "fixed" prices. They could be advanced at will. There was no parleying, no dickering, no bargaining with the trust. The people paid its prices or went without its products, and there was no going without them, for iron and steel were necessities. They entered into the implements, tools and machinery of every trade and industry. The production of food, shelter and clothes depended upon them. The Iron King had no rivals or competitors. He had absorbed or crushed them and he was master of the consumers. And the president of the railway trust with whom he was talking was even more powerful than himself. He too, was a king. His realm was the republic; his subjects, the people. His agents sat at the receipt of customs in every passenger and freight depot in the nation and exacted his tribute from the people. They stood at the toll-gates of traffic and no commodity went in or came out without rendering the tax that he demanded. He owned the highways of trade and nothing moved in all the land without a payment into his treasury. National industries, vital to the welfare of the whole people, languished under his exactions; proud cities bowed themselves to the dust under his threat of discriminating rates, and imperial states lay paralyzed under the might of his despotism. He was the pivotal power among the trusts themselves. Without his aid they could not exist. By his system of secret rebates he had built them up, crushed their rivals, destroyed competition and established their monopolies. And many of them had acknowledged the importance of his power by attempting to hedge against it as the Iron King had done, through heavy investments in the stocks or securities of those transportation lines that most nearly affected them and becoming themselves members of the trust, thus in a measure identifying their interests. The railway trust had been growing to a consummation for years, but it was only recently that it had been perfected into national proportions. A deliberate system of wrecking followed by receiverships and reorganization schemes had resulted in consolidating the ownership of the principal lines east of the Mississippi into the hands of a few

American and foreign capitalists who at once united their interests and placed them under a single management. Possessing thus the keys to the lake and sea-coast cities, and virtually commanding the commerce of the nation, it was an easy matter to gather in one after another the great trunk lines of the trans-Mississippi regions. This had been the work of the master organizer who now presided over the most stupendous and far-reaching transportation monopoly the world ever saw under private ownership and management. He saw the lines of his corporations girding the continent in quadruple belts from coast to coast and extending from the great lakes of the north to the capital of the Mexican republic on the south. He saw them dotted with towns and villages, traversing the great wheat regions of the northwest, stretching across the vast cattle country of the trans-Missouri plateau, climbing to the mines of the Rocky mountains, descending to the timber belts of Washington and Oregon, to the citrus orchards of sunny California, on down to the steamship wharves of the placid Pacific. He saw them parting the cotton fields of the semi-tropic south, gridironing the rich corn lands of the valley states and piercing the populous east by a hundred devious routes to the commerce-covered harbors of the Atlantic. And with lustful, avaricious eyes he saw them gathering in concentering bands like the radiate arms of the spider's warp, and webbing themselves about the great cities of the interior and ports of every coast. Wherever there were coal or iron or precious ores to be dug from the mines, or grain or fruit or textiles grown or live-stock raised or lumber sawn or fabrics made in mill or factory, there stood his long ungainly freight trains ready to bear away the products shorn of all profits to the toiling producer by charges of all the traffic would bear, and to turn them over to other trusts that used them to exploit the consumer. The length of his combined roads was estimated to be nearly ninety thousand miles and the pay rolls contained the names of about four hundred thousand men whose industrial condition was no less dependent than that of the employes of the iron and steel trust already mentioned. The capitalization of these roads under the system was nearly four billions of dollars, upon which the net earnings during the last year of the nineteenth century was more than two hundred and fifty millions.

That so great an industry, so public in nature, affecting necessarily the whole people and exercising such absolute sovereign powers, should be permitted to rest in private hands for private gain, is more marvelous than the stories of oriental Despotism. The people had remained singularly blind to the danger of private ownership so long that when at last they did see it, they were impotent to effect a change. The monopoly had grown strong enough to emasculate their "regulating" statutes, over-ride their constitutions, and defeat by chicanery and corruption and fraud every effort at public control that recognized the right of private ownership. And the people had grown too distrustful of their political system to agree upon ownership by the public.

CHAPTER XV.

THE TRUSTS.

AMONG the great chain of trusts that stretched over the land there was probably none better illustrated the viciousness of the principle of irresponsible private control than the National Railway trust under consideration. Whatever was evil in it could be charged to that system of management which gave unrestrained freedom to the selfish greed of man, to his dangerous ambition for power over his fellow men, and to all the resulting exactions, cruelties, corruptions and tyrannies that flow from these two lowest qualities of the human heart. The evil power of monopoly under private control had been recognized and fought by the Anglo-Saxon people for more than a thousand years. Laws against commercial and industrial combinations were a part of their governmental traditions. And because of the limitations of time and distance resulting from the slow means of transportation and communication, they had found no great difficulty in regulating the private control of industries with a few court decrees and penal statutes. But the destruction of those limitations by the railroad and telegraph was so sudden and the growth of industries and combinations consequent thereto was so rapid, that before the people were fully aware of it, their regulating machinery (as regulation had hitherto been understood) was inadequate for the purpose, and dazed and bewildered they sank under the industrial combinations that soon overwhelmed them. No other theory perhaps could account for the apparent submission of so intelligent a people as the Americans to the glaring evils of the private and irresponsible control of great labor-employing industries and such gigantic, natural and artificial monopolies as those here officially gathered together.

The two great trusts whose presidents were consulting so closely together, have been mentioned at length because typical of the times and with one or two exceptions more powerful perhaps, than any others here represented. But all

were more powerful than was consonant with the freedom of the people affected by them either as laborers or patrons. One of the most, perhaps the most important personages in the room was the president of the International Banking association. He represented a heavier capitalization than any one present. English and German money lords had joined their power to those of America and the combine controlled the fate of nations. They were the arbiters of peace and war in the two hemispheres. They were more. Their fiat carried moderate prosperity or abject poverty to millions in the midst of peace and plenty. They were the Gods of the elements of the industrial atmosphere. They rode on the wings of commercial storms, launched the whirlwinds of panics, and spoke peace to the troubled waters of trade. They commanded the money of the world. And under their manipulation money had truly become what it had been so tritely defined, the life-blood of industry. They had fastened upon the civilized world a money system so astounding in its power to afflict sorely the industrial and civil liberties of men and nations, that Satanic cunning must itself have doffed his cap and bent his knee before those nineteenth century masters of the legerdemain of greed, and bowed his head in shame at their utter selfishness. And yet withal, it was so simple and unpretending that the Divine Intelligence must have blushed for the dupeability of his creatures who became its willing victims. By making an insignificant metal commodity money, and forcing the vast commercial exchanges of the world to a basis of barter for it, they put themselves in the way of controlling the possession of its limited supply and thereby controlled the exchanges, the commerce, the trade, the industries of the earth. As the tides of the ocean follow the movements of the moon, so the tides of trade followed them. And the Heart of Trade instead of acting automatically as it should, instead of expanding and contracting solely in response to the needs of industry, became simply as the blacksmith's bellows, responsive principally to outside manipulation and acting for the most part artificially. But the American president of the Monetary Bellows was very cheerful over it. He did not doubt his ability to pump to the entire satisfaction of his associates. He was "sleek-headed" and fat and evidently "slept o' nights" as his Caesars would

have him do. There was no suggestion in his looks of the "lean and hungry Cassius," and yet he was dangerous. But he was jolly and seemed in a most complacent good humor with himself and the world as he talked with the president of the American Press Association. This latter gentleman, more like Cassius in physique than in heart, was a tall and graceful gentleman. The banker was much interested in him, financially as well as otherwise. His "reports" were much used by all the capitalists present. He, too, was a power in the country; but he was well under the control of the trusts. The capitalists did not fear him, but they needed him and made a great man of him. It was his province to "educate" the people and to see to it that no information reached them that they ought not to have. Reform was a pestilence that never swept over his wires nor spread through his papers. He was the Sphinx-like front to the Conspiracy of Silence that prevented unwholesome truths reaching the ears of the multitude. The American people had read of a censorship of the press in the dark and tyrannous despotism of the effete east. They had heard that the autocratic Russian and the brutal and bigoted Turk and the heathen Chinee made use of that arch instrument of darkness to keep their subjects in happy ignorance of their degradation and slavery; but as for themselves the freedom of the press was their proudest boast. Nay, it had been, but no longer was; for that proud boast had fallen before the vilest censorship ever maintained, the censorship of cowardly venal greed that had laid its foul hands upon this palladium of popular liberty and secretly filched it away. And that which the revolutionary fathers had deemed important and sacred enough to place among the constitutional, political rights of the people, had crumbled at the corrupting touch of private capital. The press was no longer free; it had become the grateful, fawning servant of its master—capital. The great dailies of the large cities and the weekly journals of widest circulation throughout the country that controlled the news agencies of the nation, had prostituted their high powers to the basest uses of the reigning plutocracy. The brilliant and talented editorial and reportorial staff that conducted them were but the willing or unwilling, conscious or unconscious, tools of the cunning heaps of wealth that owned them

and counted them along with their oils and stores and rails and merchandise and other gross, material things that constituted their stock in trade. But it could not be truly said that the press managers and editors were always venal and mercenary in the coarser sense of those terms, any more than it could be said that the drunkard and gambler and bar-keeper were in the same sense advocates of the saloon and all its kindred evils; for as the latter have breathed the foul atmosphere of their vile habitats so long that it has become a part of their mental and moral nature, so had the former, the editors and managers of the press, lived and moved in the more refined perhaps but no less vile and vicious atmosphere of capitalism until their minds and hearts had become normal to it. This atmosphere of capitalism, full of its disease-spreading microbes, had penetrated to the editorial rooms through the business department of the paper. Newspapers required money to run them. Expensive machinery had to be bought, large buildings rented or constructed and big pay-rolls permanently maintained. The independent but respectable days of the modest but mighty hand-press had passed away. Companies had to be formed and incorporated. Stocks and bonds had to be sold and wealthy and steady advertisers found. This was the opportunity of capital; and the freedom of the press was secretly and silently buried alongside the free ballot and industrial manhood. The genius and talent of the editor, that once had been the true capital of the publishing office, now became its least necessary appendage. And instead of his establishing the paper, as in the times from Franklin to Greeley, it now established him. He became a hireling, a sycophant paragraphist and a paid writer of advertisements, extolling the virtues of his masters wares, his schemes and plans for plundering the people and governing the nation. The street fakir, the patent medicine vendors and the shoe string peddlars were his superiors in independence and respectability, The owners of their goods at least were not standing somewhere behind them hidden from the people, and pulling the wires that worked their jaws as the owners of the editor were. The noble profession of journalism that once had towered alongside that of the statesman and philosopher, became, under the industrial system that dominated it, simply a department in an advertising and news

vending bureau. And the survival of the fittest had once more demonstrated its unfitness to survive. But the president of the Press Association was hobnobbing with greatness as he understood it, and fancied himself the equal of the mighty banker with whom he was conversing.

The president of the Telegraph-Telephone Trust was there. He held one of the wires to which the puppet-news-man dangled. Indeed, he was an expert with wires in a double sense. It was his business to work them in both a literal and a figurative way and he understood his business, particularly the latter part of it. He controlled the lines of communication among the people. They couldn't exactly know "where they were at" without his aid, and he charged them a good, round price for it. For three hundred years those benefactors of the race, those patient delvers into the mysteries of natural science, had worked on the problem their partial solution of which had resulted in the instruments which his monopoly controlled. The sum of those centuries of intellectual labor which had been freely given to the world, this man claimed with placid presumption as his, and privately proceeded to control it. He had scattered a few thousand poles about over the country, stretched a few tons of wire upon them, attached a few thousand batteries and signal apparati, the actual cost of the whole of which did not exceed twenty-five million dollars, and lo! he was a king and a multi-millionaire, and likewise possessed the earth in common, with the people? No, in common with the other thirty-nine colossi assembled with him. He was undoubtedly a great man. He had capitalized his patrons for more than one hundred millions of dollars. He exercised autocratic power over thirty thousand knights of the key, the faithful telegraphers who expended their lives in his ill-paid service. He turned his telephone exchanges into sweat-shops where delicate girls and women labored at his nerve-wrecking and health-destroying switch-boards for a miserable pittance. He robbed of employment men who needed it, and stunted and dwarfed the prospective citizen, in order to squeeze dividends from child-labor, his messenger boys. And having established his monopoly over the people, he was so grateful for the franchises they had given him and for the privilege of "private control" with which they had entrusted him, that he rewarded them by helping to muzzle

the press and by joining the patriotic band of forty conspirators who were here assembled. In appearance, he was tall and spare, like the president of the Press. He was far past the middle age, and his once black hair and beard were much tinged with grey. His manner was sedate and dignified and he had quite the air of a clergyman. One would hardly suspect him of possessing the "business ability" with which he was credited. He was listening very patiently to the conversation of the banker and the news-man, occasionally joining with a word.

The broad and spacious rooms, connected by large sliding doors, now thrown back, were comfortably thronged with conferring magnates. Besides those already mentioned, a list of those present included the presidents of the Anthracite and the Bituminous Coal trusts, both of whom were co-investors with the Iron King and the Railway Despot, who respectively represented absolute capitalizations of one hundred and fifty millions and sixty-four millions of dollars, and the number of whose employes was estimated to be over one hundred and eighty thousand; the president of the Northwestern Flour trust, who through his mills, his elevators, his alliance with the railroads and his arbitrary and swindling system of wheat grading, held the farmers of the grain states in his easy grasp as well as the consumers of his products; the president of the Cotton Trust, who controlled that textile from the compress to the finished fabric; the president of the Dressed Beef and Pork Trust performed the same philanthropic office for the meat producers and consumers; the president of the Sugar Trust who controlled that prime staple and taxed the people as his greed prompted; the president of the American Harvester and Agricultural Machinery trust, who sold his goods cheaper in South America than to the farmers about the factory; the president of the Builder's Supply trust who had gathered in one after the other the monopolies that controlled the manufacture of nails, saws, bolts and nuts, hinges, wood screws and sashes and doors; his capital ran close to the hundred millions, his employes were thousands, his patrons, the nation; the president of the Municipal Light and Power trust, who controlled street railways and illumination in forty great cities and more than one hundred and seventy large towns; the president of the Amer-

ican Arms and Ammunition trust, who was expecting to be an important factor in suppressing the expanding ideas of labor; his trust manufactured the strongest arguments used by the capitalism of the day; the president of the Western Dam and Irrigation trust; his concern was the youngest of any, and he was modest; he rested content with the possession of the biggest half of the republic; he was more than king; more than despot; more than Turk—he was God out there. In his domain prayers for "rain" came up to him and if accompanied by the cash, he might pro rate the drouth among the others who had likewise prostrated themselves before him. And last but not least, were the presidents of the Standard Oil trust and the Fire and Life Insurance league, who had distributed the colossal wealth which they controlled liberally among the other trusts here represented, owning large blocks of stock in most of them.

The president of the Railway trust, big and rotund of body, massive and square of face, eyes, heavy lidded, but sharp and penetrating, turned from the Iron King with whom he was conversing, and looking quickly at his watch for a moment, rapped sharply upon the long table near which he was standing. The presidents of the trusts, who were scattered about the room in groups of from two to half a dozen, some seated, some standing, turned attentively towards him and ceased their conversation. And what became known to history as the Cabal of the Trusts was in session.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE EMPLOYER'S ARGUMENT.

THE dramatic environment with which conspirators of old were wont to surround their gatherings when meeting to formulate their plots against dynasties, established governments and official power, was entirely lacking in this conference of the Trust presidents. There were no secret chambers approached by dark and winding passages, no sentinel at the door, no pass-word demanded. There was no obscure light from fitful, gleaming lamp, no masked and muffled figures, no ghastly tokens over which were whispered blood-curdling oaths of secrecy. And yet no conspiracy of history was ever more potent with tragedy than this. Eighty millions of people were to be assailed by a most ruthless and debasing power. A thousand bloody riots, the lurid fires of revolution, perpetual slavery for a mighty nation hung in the balance. If these men succeeded in their plans, the republic itself would go down in the wreck of industrial hope and industrial freedom that would follow, and popular government once more take its place in those silent halls of death whence but four short generations before it had been resurrected. But there was nothing in their manner or surroundings that would indicate that they were plotters of such far-reaching treason to their government and people. The traitors of the nineteenth century had improved upon the methods of their ancient progenitors. They no longer skulked to midnight conclaves nor gathered by devious ways in dark and secret places, with hearts standing still and hands on sword at the sound of their own flaky footfalls. They no longer staked their lives on the success of their ventures. The most they staked now was money. Their methods were business methods. Their meeting places were on Boards of Trade, in Stock Exchanges, around directors tables and in private business offices, such as are before us. In fact, there was no reason for them to skulk or be afraid. What they did, they did for the most

part lawfully, at least not criminally. They could not go out with a club and beat their neighbor into captivity and make him their personal slave. They could not assemble war-like armaments against the people and government and "vis et armis" reduce them to subjection; but under the private and irresponsible control of great industries which the people permitted, they could effect the same results, and none knew it better than the men who at the invitation of the presiding President, gathered themselves about the long table at which he was standing, and seating themselves in the heavy, leather-covered chairs which had been provided for their convenience, were ready to discuss the "important business" that brought them together.

"Gentlemen," said the Railway President, "it has been said that it is an impossible thing for as many as half a dozen Americans to meet together without organizing a society or company and electing a chairman and secretary. But I think we can best prove the rule in this instance by being the exception to it. In fact, it is a rule that needs a somewhat vigorous pruning. It stands for a habit that has gone to seed among the people and produced the very vicious result that a goodly portion of them who need to be put to work think that if they can organize something or join some society or union or other, that ease and plenty and nothing to do will be theirs ever after. And the commonest stick you meet believes that he is just about the right timber for a manager of the whole business, and if he can't boss the job he goes on a hopeless hunt for one that he can. That idea has spread to an incredible degree among our lower classes, among those fitted by nature to be only what they are—hewers of wood and drawers of water for those placed in authority over them. And rooted in a diseased desire to live without work, nourished by an evil educational system that gives them a smattering of knowledge above their station, and developed by political privileges which they are incompetent to exercise, it has created aspirations too big for their brains and unwarranted by the amount of grey matter therein contained, and has produced longings for things that the good of society and government and business requires us to keep out of their reach. To that same diseased desire to live without work, to the political privileges which the age presents, and to the educa-

tional system mentioned may be also attributed the great part of the Socialistic movements and tendencies now-a-days so unhappily common among that spawn of the nation, the proletariat, whose idea of Socialism is infinite license, infinite leisure and spontaneous plenty, free meals, free beds, and no labor. And they think all they have to do to bring about this delectable state is to organize something, or failing in that, which their lack of requisite intelligence and good faith makes certain, to seize upon that which the brains and energy of some one else has organized, and reap advantages not intended for such as they who have not the strength of character to use them properly, even if possessed justly. If they could effect their object and bring within their grasp the organizations and institutions and powers which they covet, they do not seem to realize that at the first touch of their ignorant and incompetent hands, those coveted things would crumble to nothingness or turn to bitter ashes like the fabled fruit of the Desert Sea. It is impossible for them to understand that civilization itself with all its grand and noble achievements depends upon the possession of its powers remaining with those who have been instrumental in evolving them and who know how to wield them intelligently. They cannot believe it; and upon the fair form of that civilization therefore they dare to cast their lecherous eyes and to reach out for it in a lustful, unreasoning way like the freckled whelp of Sycorax for the beautiful Miranda. I can apprehend no higher duty for those who stand in positions of trust and responsibility such as we possess, than to use all the means within our power to strike down those covetous hands, to pluck out the vicious hope from the hearts of the misguided creatures who possess it and put them to work at something that their untutored minds can comprehend and their clumsy hands perform. It is imperatively demanded that all the civilizing agencies which we possess, be united in a single purpose and a common effort to destroy the industrial heresies that are spreading among our laboring classes, making them idle, bold and impudent; and to inoculate them with healthful and correct views of their station in life and the duties that pertain to it. They are sadly in need of education along that line. They are great on organizing; but they have yet to learn that organization means organs which must per-

form the special functions for which they are created. They have yet to learn that hands must perform the work of hands, that feet must tread the dust and the mire, and that the essential and necessary but meaner members cannot aspire to the functions of the higher and nobler. The working classes and the cranks and demagogues that incite to insubordination and rebellion at their lot, are very fond of referring to themselves as the bone and sinew of the nation, and so they are. But in the next breath perhaps you will hear them demanding that Brains abdicate forthwith and get off his throne and yield his functions up to them; as though the functions of mind could ever be performed by Bone and Sinew, whose work must ever be essentially and grossly physical. Not only so, but unless that work is done humbly and obediently under the direction of some Master Mind, it will be ineffective and without value. The atoms of an organism go naturally where they belong. The Grey matter cannot be kept out of the brain; and the Bone and Sinew and horny substances can not be kept in. If there are any among our laboring classes who belong among the nerves or in the cerebellum or cerebrum of the body politic, body industrial or body social, you may be sure that sooner or later they will be found there and royally welcomed; but those that don't, will not for we must keep them where nature placed them. These wholesome truths must be drilled into our people; and the work cannot be commenced too soon. It has been neglected so long already that it is going to require some genuine 'apostolic' blows and knocks to do it. The ignorant boast and false assertion that there are no classes in this country and should be none has given our people a perverted notion of their individual importance. As a matter of fact, caste and class have always existed in every country; and our own democratic republic has been and is no exception to that universal rule. It is true that in colonial and revolutionary times, when the nation was a mere collection of ganglionic settlements, the classes were likewise in a somewhat embryonic state; that is, the lines of demarcation were not so sharply defined as in the mother countries. But as we became more populous and our industries were developed and diversified and organized, as our power became centralized as it must in all complex organisms, our classes became more and more differentiated as was

inevitable and necessary and right, until today the lines between them are as broad as can anywhere be found. In the wild-ass days of our early republic when the conquest of the frontier and the wilderness was the all-important matter, our laboring people in their semi-isolation and unconventional environment became imbued with the idea that caste was, and of right ought to be, dead. That erroneous idea and doctrine was handed down to their descendants; it became a provincialism, so to speak, an Americanism, if you please. It was promptly inoculated into every immigrant, wise or otherwise who landed on our shores; and together with the free-ballot, the free school and the free homestead became the object of the tenderest regard of every long-eared Bottom that enjoyed privileges so beyond his station. It is with ill grace therefore and sullen reluctance that the people yield to the inexorable law of heaven-ordained order, the wise application of which, committed to our hands, is forcing them to the level to which they belong and is requiring us to take from them one by one those privileges which it is incompatible with the public good for them to possess."

A low murmur of approval ran round the table at this; and the president seeing that he was treading on solid ground, set his massive jaws a little harder and in the easy, conversational tone in which he had begun, proceeded:

"Gentlemen, however harsh and unfeeling it may sound to our democratic ears, the plain, unvarnished truth is that 'the powers that be' in our country must teach the laboring class their place and make them keep it. The growing evil of the times may be stated in one single word—insubordination; a word that very accurately describes the chronic condition and chronic ailment of our lower classes. With it comes that congenital horde of evil mental conditions—class envy, class jealousy, class prejudice, class hatred, and class antagonism, which we find agitating them, impairing their happiness and destroying their usefulness. Before deciding on measures looking to a correction of this state of affairs. it may be well for us to cast about for the causes that produced it. Besides those already incidentally glanced at, there is one which we as business men are especially competent to recognize and of which it is within our province to take 'judicial notice.' Stated in a few words it is—Superabundant

Prosperity. The cold fact is, the laboring classes of America have prospered beyond their mental and moral capacity to use what is paid into their hands. That statement would doubtless be received with open-eyed astonishment in some quarters I know, and be regarded as a casus-belli by the so-called reformers; but to us who are in a position to review the situation intelligently, it will be accepted as a very common-place truth. It is quite the fashion of course, to parade the desperate poverty of the slums, the great number of the unemployed and the unequal fortunes of the rich and poor and then jump to the conclusion that labor is being robbed of its share by the avaricious capitalists. Whereas, we know the fact to be that a century of high wages has induced in the people habits of life, desires of living and material longings and aspirations that are extravagantly beyond their means and stations. We know the result has been, that our laboring classes are extravagant, improvident, shiftless, high-headed and unwilling to perform the simple duties that devolve upon them. This is particularly true of later generations and especially applicable to those of the preseut day. To them, to have to labor is in itself a desperate grievance, work is a disgrace, and contentment with their lot, a crime. They go to their daily task like quarry slaves scourged to their dungeons, instead of with that healthful, breezy cheerfulness that constitutes true independence. They are unwilling to start as their fathers started; or to follow the trades that their fathers followed; or to live as their fathers lived. Their wages range from four to ten times in amount and from ten to twenty times in purchasing power above what their fathers and grandfathers gladly and thankfully received and on which they reared large and healthful families; and yet these their sons and daughters are ground into the dust and robbed and reduced to serfdom by soulless capital! One hundred years ago, labor netted only thirty per cent of the value of its products; today its share is nearly sixty per cent. One hundred years ago the share that went to capital from productive industry was two-thirds greater than that which went to labor; today the share of capital is two-thirds less than that of labor. A few generations ago the farmer hauled his wheat from twenty to sixty miles in a crude wagon over unworked roads, sold it for thirty-five cents

per bushel and bought his wife a calico dress at thirty-five cents per yard. And though he spent the greater part of a week going and coming, yet he was contented and she was proud and happy. Just think what a howl would go up if the farmer today had to trade a bushel of wheat for a yard of calico, to say nothing of the trouble and expense of marketing. Yet in these times with all his labor-saving agricultural implements, he complains of sixty-cent wheat and five-cent calico.

"In those good old days to eat 'white bread' was the synonym of luxury; tea, coffee, sugar and store clothes were dreams of wealth. The cobbler came once a year and the shoes that he made must last till his coming again. The hand-loom furnished the men with home-spun suits of butternut jeans and the women with linsey dresses, thick and strong. The pine-knot and the rush-light were their astral lamps. Stoves were unknown, but instead the omnivorous fireplace blazed its wide-mouthed welcome and wasted sixty per cent of its heat up yawning, home-made chimneys. The Dutch oven and the crane-swung pots and kettles were their kitchen ranges; deal boards their floors where they had any, and ax-hewn, hand-sawn planks, their lumber for houses and tables and doors. Glass was precious and so were nails and builders tools; and yet wages were a shilling a day or at most 'two bits.' Were the people of those times ground into the dust? were they oppressed? were they howling about Industrial Slavery? On the contrary, they regarded themselves as the freest and most independent people on earth. They grew vigorous and strong on their coarse but wholesome fare. They were content with their homely but comfortable clothing and they lived happily in their rude and rudely furnished, but debt-free homes. Their luxuries were few; none, indeed, according to labor's standard today; but they had no sickly yearnings for more than they had. Their holidays were not many, but they enjoyed them. Their social life was far sweeter and more healthful, than that of the disease-proud labor of today. Their morals were purer, their hearts lighter and cleaner, and their minds nobler. They were indeed less educated than our lower classes, but God save the mark when the popular education of our times is mentioned, with its surface gleanings of undigested facts, its distorted ideals of la-

bor-life, its half-truths, its 'ologies, its sciences, its dead languages, its scientific training—all intended only for scholars and gentlemen and those with the means and leisure to pursue and understand them properly. If the working people of a century ago had less of such education, they at least had more common sense. And they had that jewel, 'contentment with their station' which the education of today is especially designed to destroy. They were willing to live their lives as God had cast them. They were willing to live within their means. They were willing to make the best of their opportunities, and the result was they prospered and were happy. They even saved a little from their scant wages, hoarded it little by little, added to it and laid the foundation of many of the mighty fortunes of today. How is it with our working people? Are they content to be working people? Verily not. Every stupid bumpkin of them wants to be a gentleman, and their vulgar wives want to be ladies; and their sons and daughters fairly yearn for those high estates which to them mean nothing more than fine clothes, plenty of money and nothing to do. Unfit to exercise the functions of higher stations, they refuse to conform to their own; and this is true throughout the whole range of industries. Every clod-hopping son of a farmer who has been kept at school instead of at work and has been unfortunate enough to get into a high school or so-called college, straightway wants to be a lawyer or other professional man. Every cigarette-smoking son of an artizan or mechanic who has likewise been educated out of his class at public expense instead of being bound apprentice to some trade, wants to be what he can not be and do what he can not do and refuses to be or do anything else. Though incompetent and without experience, they all want to be officers the day they enlist. They scorn service in the ranks. Though burning with an unhappy desire to be above themselves, to be rich and live like the rich, none of them are willing to make an honest, intelligent, independent, individual effort to effect it. If we force them down on to their proper level as we inevitably must, they yield doggedly and resentfully. The trades and industries today are full of such people. Are they willing to live within their means? Not so; though their wages are ample, many

times more in both amount and purchasing power than that on which their fathers prospered, yet these would be aristocrats find them quite inadequate to their educated and growing wants. They must live and dress in a style closely patterned after their betters. Their wives must be in the fashion which our wives affect. Bonnets and gowns and wraps must be 'a la mode,' until it is difficult to detect the difference in dress between the mistress and maid, the wage-woman and her patroness. Their sons must dress and live like gentlemen, and their daughters must be 'fin-de-siecle' in everything. Their houses must be of modern architecture and carpeted and curtained and furnished with plate-glass mirrors and 'suites-des-chambers' until their fathers and grandfathers would stand agape at the luxury of their descendants. Their holidays must be passed up the river or down the bay or on the cross country excursion. They make more in two months than their grandfathers did in twelve, and they save less in twelve months than those level-headed, class-satisfied old men did in two. Would they condescend to live as those men lived? Well, hardly. No deal tables, no batten doors, no ungrooved, unmatched bare floors for them. No grated meal, no dark unbolted flour, no cobbled shoes, no tallow dips. The white bread dainty of their fathers has become their necessity and likewise a hundred other luxuries of which their ancestors never dreamed. The honest Sunday jeans of the grandsire is the Sunday scorn of the grandson, and the grandmothers prideful calico is the granddaughters cheapest dress. Are they prosperous? Not if their daily tale of industrial woe is believed. Nor would they be if their wages were quadrupled. Though they get fifty cents or a dollar where their grandsires got but a shilling or 'two-bits,' though the shilling would not buy a twentieth part of what the dollar will buy, and though the grandsire prospered,yet are they going up and down the land bemoaning the hardness of their lot that prevents them from being millionaires. While they have work their earnings are squandered in what for them is really riotous living; and when the dark days come they have saved nothing and the cry goes up that they are robbed, ill-used and no better than slaves. They join the ranks of the unemployed and lacking energy they become public charges. The condition of the laboring people of our country

is but a verification of the proverb, 'put a beggar on horseback and he will ride to the devil.' Starting with a vigorous ancestry, glad of the privilege to work, content with their station in life, following earnestly and proudly their respectice trades and occupations, willing to live as their fathers had lived, to labor as their fathers had labored, giving proper reverence and respect to laws and customs and social and political institutions, American labor through too abundant prosperity, too high wages, has degenerated into a progeny that is sadly lacking in those fine ancestral qualities. They have grown proud and conceited. They are ashamed of their station and that of their fathers. They strive to obliterate class distinctions. They try to escape from the trades and enter the professions without any ability whatever to do so. They yearn for something that will relieve them of the need of effort. They look to the government as our Indian wards look to the Great Father at Washington and hope to effect through politics what can only be done by hard labor. Having wasted their opportunities and squandered their substance like the prodigal son they think of the flesh-pots of those who have prospered, and bold and impudent and unrepentant they purpose to return and demand another portion, and expect no less than that the provident and prosperous shall meet them afar off, put rings on their fingers and robes on their backs and escort them with a brass band to the feast of the fatted calf.

"Gentlemen, I believe in holding fast to the lines of the old parable. And when they come, saying, 'I have sinned and am unworthy, and desire to be as one of thy hired servants,' then but not till then will it be wise to consider the arrangements for the feast. In fact, until such an honest disposition is shown, I think it will be the part of wisdom for us to provide quite another reception for them."

Frequent and vigorous signs of approval had assured the speaker of what he already knew, that he was simply giving voice to the thoughts and opinions of those about him and the class they represented. Continuing he said:

"Two other causes lie with 'over-prosperity' at the root of present evil conditions. I have already incidentally alluded to them but they are important enough to emphasize by special mention. One is our much lauded and really vicious

educational system which gives to the children of all classes free of charge what is really a gentleman's education; producing or tending strongly to produce in all who receive it a desire for the life and station that naturally go with it. It is really a cruelty, an unpardonable injustice to rear a child with hopes, desires and aspirations that in the nature of things can not be satisfied. If we give to the children of the lower classes, to those who labor and must labor, a training at public expense that unfits them for the industrial duties that will devolve upon them; if at public expense, we educate the children of such parents to a life beyond their station, our logical duty is to provide at public expense a way for them to enjoy such a life; and that is what they are clamoring for today. We can not have free schools and a gentleman's education without such an intolerable result. One or the other must go, or Socialism, communism and anarchy can not be stayed.

"The third in the trio of evil causes which I have mentioned, is unrestricted political privileges, universal popular suffrage. Before the resources of the country were developed, before the business interests of the nation became so vast and varied, as long as the political questions submitted to the people were 'tweedle dee and tweedle dum' popular suffrage was a matter of no especial concern. It is true it was bad even then, developing as it did among the people that omniverous conceit and over-weening confidence now a part of their character, concerning their right and ability to decide the most involved and delicate political and industrial questions. But the evil effects are especially felt now as the disposition grows to draw the great business and financial interests of the country more and more into the range of political action. More and more the people are evincing a desire to lay their hands in a political way upon that which otherwise they dare not touch. More and more business questions are becoming political questions. More and more the people encroach upon our sphere. Of course if they can get a business question into politics they have the legal, constitutional right to pass upon it. And their unlimited assurance and conceit does not tend to make them modest about the difficulties at all. They affect to settle off-hand, matters that puzzle finer and bigger brains than they will develop in

a hundred years. And side by side with the man who has given years of study to a question or has had years of practical experience in dealing with it, they go to the polls and confidently shove in their ballots with his. They rush in where wise and experienced men fear to tread even lightly. The spectacle of submitting great governmental and business policies every four years to the horde of strange creatures that crowd to the booths to decide them, is enough to make the spirit of Jonathan Swift yearn for re-incarnation to damn it with a last chapter to his Gulliver. It is this privilege which has produced the audacious effrontery, not to say insolence, with which they now propose to despoil the wealth-owners of the country under the guise of municipal and governmental ownership. Not content with their high wages, not content to enjoy as necessities, such luxuries as the monarchs and nobility of a few centuries ago never conceived nor dreamed, not content with all these things which the genius of Organized Capital and the constructive business brains of the country have developed and made possible, they would now reach out their ignorant hands for the business organizations that produce them and control them, hoping thereby to live ever after in idleness and plenty. Our political system has engendered this spirit of egotism,assurance and false confidence among the people that makes them think themselves equal to any undertaking; and if they can settle questions of government, why not all questions? that is the way they reason, and the result is that the laboring people actually want to own and run their employers business. There are several thousand men on my railway lines who confidently believe they are able and ought to run the whole business collectively. All of you have the same thing to deal with in your lines of business. Their Unions are all built on that principle;but happily we are well able to manage them. They now turn to political effort and that too we have succeeded so far in controlling, but at great expense, the last two campaigns having cost us nearly forty millions of money.

"It is here at this point of our political contact with the masses that lies our real danger, our only peril. Industrially, we are safely and surely their masters. We control production. We control exchange, its means and medium. We control the most powerful engines of communication and

knowledge. Legally and lawfully we are masters and manipulators of these vast economic and industrial powers, for legally and lawfully their ownership and operation are conceded to us alone.

"Not so with the political powers of the land. In the exercise of them and in their exercise alone do the aspiring creatures on our pay-rolls, the hay-seed statesmen and the bull-whacking economists of the country boroughs find themselves legally and lawfully our equals. Here alone at the point of political power and control, do the claw-fingered 'sans-culottes' of industry, the baying wolf-packs of labor, the mangy 'canaille' of repudiation, reform and Socialism, the ignorant horde of economic barbarians find lawful warrant for their audacious purposes and hopes.

"It is true we have so far been able even at this point to control them and beat them down and back to their places; and we will not, I think, fail to do so in the future. But we only know, and know only too well, the dubious and devious ways and means by which the political power and privileges of these creatures have been shorn of all their, to them, hoped for results. And not always, I fear, have these ways and means been within the spirit of the law; but they have been within both the spirit and the letter of that higher law —the law of necessity, which alone under present political conditions may be recognized as valid by the controlling agencies of civilization represeuted by us.

"The ends must ever justify the means; and measured by that rule, the methods and agencies employed by us in accomplishing by indirection what otherwise we could not directly do, are wholly and completely justified. But while this is true and while, as I have said, those agencies and methods are fully adequate to deliver us from the jaws of the 'many-headed-monster' that would devour us and the collossal industries which we have builded and upon which civilization itself depends, yet it is mortifying to our manhood and humiliating to the Genius of Management which we profess to embody that we have to confess to such necessity.

"Shall we the sure Masters of this Beast, industrially and socially forever be compelled to fawn upon and cajole and buy and intimidate and threaten, in order to be its master politically? Aside from the personally offensive aspect of the sit-

uation as a mere business proposition, and as such we are here to consider it today, as a mere business proposition, can we afford to have our vast holdings threatened annually, biennially and quadrennially? Stocks and bonds are timid, tender things. They shrink and tremble at shadows, and at the Shadow of the Multitude most of all. We feel confident and speak boldly of our ability to control political results by our present methods; but we can not disguise the fact that there is always a chance of disaster, of a rush of the populace, of a stampede of the people that we could not control by such means alone. It is true we are more or less prepared for such a contingency, remote as it may possibly be; for if there is one thing upon which the controlling business men of the country are determined, it is that under no circumstances shall the 'mutable and rank-scented many' triumph in their schemes of Socialism or taste the sweets of any possible victory.

"But even the chance must be taken from them. Their political privileges must be curtailed, directly or indirectly, I care not how; but diminished, they must be; diminished, diminished, diminished until practical elimination is reached. It can be done. It is not impossible; nay, it is easy to accomplish. Already a large majority among them are disgusted with the results of the barren victories which we suffer now this party and now that to win. They are aweary of party triumphs whose fruits are ever filched from them. They are without faith in parties or leaders, suspicious of their own representatives and distrustful of each other. Even the thoughtful and earnest ones among them are divided in counsels; they are ours already. The political machinery as well as the machinery of government itself, is in our hands. To effect our purpose, we have but to decide on the When and the How.

"Does anyone among us fear a popular revolution? Fear it not. The people that have submitted to industrial dependence will never care enough for political power to fight for it. The revolution would prove but a National Riot, and we have, I fancy, ample power to handle that. Indeed, so far from fearing such a denouement, I, for one, would welcome it; for in the cloud and smoke and confusion of such a time, this bauble of the people could easily be made to disappear;

and I am tired, and so I think are we all, of this eternal driving and herding of the masses to the polls, this never-ending dickering with their minions in official power, this perpetual Banquo-play with the Ghost of Popular Power that flits in and out at every business office in the land. It is a reflection upon our capacity and ability as business managers of the nation to permit much longer a continuance of this condition of affairs; and I believe it to be the part of wisdom for us to seize the first, best opportunity that offers and by a bold stroke of our power end at once this national farce of universal-suffrage, this biennial and quadrennial carnival of political fraud and hypocrisy and cajolery and crime.

"The elements of the commercial and industrial world over which we preside will never become settled and calm until this is done. Our interests, our industries, our country, our civilization demand of us accelerated action along the lines I have suggested. Of this, I think, we are all convinced. I have but intended to generalize the situation as it seemed to me to present itself to our collective view at our last meeting. Since then we have had to consider but the How and the When. Upon these points we are now gathered to deliberate. Before entering into that matter however, it may be best to ascertain first if we are still of one opinion in regard to the situation as I have stated it To that end I suggest that expressions upon that particular are now desirable."

So, concluding, the mighty railway president, the unofficial chairman of the convocation assumed the seat immediately behind him, at the head of the table at which he had been standing, and awaited the responses of his confreres. One by one the conspiring potentates rose and with more or less prolixity or brevity gave assurance of their concurrence with the sentiments and views which President Gorman of the Railway Trust had just enumerated. All having in one way or another expressed their approbation, the ponderous Gorman speaking from his chair, this time without rising, said:

"Unanimity is the key-note of our power. That matter being settled, I suggest that we hear from the Advisory Agent chosen at our last meeting to examine into the Ways and Means best adapted to the furtherance of our purposes."

Then for the first time the Mephistopheles of the Cabal came into prominent notice.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE TRIBE OF ATTORNEYS-AT-LAW.

"HE arose and in his rising seemed a Pillar of State." He was a Pillar of State, the Pillar of State in fact in the state of Capitaldom, the state of Monopoly, of Combine, of Trust, of Corruption, of Chicanery, of Craft, of Oppression—compositely known as the Industrial and Governmental State of America.

Suave, polished, plausible, refined, an Apollo in appearance, a Chesterfield in manners, a Machiavel in principles, a scholar, a courtier, a man-of-the-world, he was a fit and perfect type of the tribe which he represented; a tribe, which in its utter selfishness, its ability, its acuteness, its subtlety, its speciousness, its wilyness, its insiduous and tenuous cunning and its apparent respectability, has furnished to the world the only true characteristics of the only genuine Devil of modern times—the Tribe of Attorneys-at-Law.

Lawyer-politicians and lawyer-statesmen; a tribe by profession fee-takers, bribe-solicitors, mercenaries and 'soldiers-of-fortune' whenever and wherever in society or government they have appeared; the Hessians of society, selling their sword for money to the highest bidder in any cause; a tribe always and everywhere sycophants of power, parasites of class, leeches of wealth, always and everywhere tools of despots and demagogues among the people and always for a price; espousing a "corde," never a cause, never a principle, never a truth; but always their own fortune and aggrandizement as represented in that of a client, whether the latter be a man, a corporation, a party, or a power to which they have attached themselves for that single purpose. A tribe that has no convictions, no principles apart from a client, and no client that does not pay. A tribe whose invulnerable armor is the "ethics of the profession;" whose escutcheon is escalloped with thirty pieces of silver, and above whose bar-sinister is emblazoned its significant and only motto, "For Sale."

Sworn upholders of the Law, they have been its arch betrayers; sworn ministers of Justice, they have been its deadliest poisoners; sworn officers of the Court, they have been its mockers and befoulers; and whether on the bench, at the bar, in party councils, at the legislator's desk, in the executive chair or around the cabinet table—the "retainer" has ever been the only talisman to which they acknowledged subjection. Their ideal brain is the spider's spinneret; their ideal heart, the snake's; their ideal client, the pocket-book; their ideal faith, Satanic; and yet to such brains and hearts and faiths, and client-seekers, have the destinies of our people been almost wholly entrusted. Is it any wonder therefore, that our courts are mazes of technicalities, our common law an "equivoque" like the Delphic Oracle, and our public bodies, hot-beds of corruption and faithlessness? Is it any wonder that the record of history uniformly shows that the rise of this potent, dangerous and contemptible tribe into prominence and power, has ever been accompanied by national degradation and the basest betrayal of the people's liberties and rights?

It is a significant fact worthy to note in this connection, that the famous and infamous Praetorian Guards that finally possessed themselves of the crown of the Caesars and hawked it about to the highest bidder, selling it and retaking it to sell again, derive their name from that of the judicial officer of whose court decrees they were at first executors.

It is a fundamental principle which every people who would be free and remain so, would do well to recognize—that the paid-advocate by occupation, the hired-pleader by calling, the side-taker for money, the man whose profession it is to demand pay before espousing a cause, to espouse a cause only upon receiving pay therefor, is unfit to be trusted in any capacity other than professional; and even there, it will be found that the best interests of society and government imperatively demand his suppression; for the "code of ethics" to which he subscribes, breeds in him a moral leprosy that infects everything with which he comes in contact—courts, constabulary, legislation, politics, the people themselves. So long therefore as this Drummer whose wares are his wits, is commissioned or permitted to ply his iniquitous vocation, and, O incredible! entrusted with place and

official power, so long will the body politic remain diseased and impure, as he is diseased and impure. And yet to this vital truth the public is and has ever been practically blind.

The lawyer-politician, the lawyer-statesman, the attorney-at-law, pervades every department of public affairs. All our judges and nine-tenths of our legislators and state executives and twenty-two out of twenty-four presidents have belonged to this order of professional Pecksniffs. From this same class have come a still larger percentage of those carrion-birds of society, the professional politicians and the professional lobbyists. None have been so honored and trusted by the people as this Gentleman of the Law, this suave Judas who has uniformly and promptly and characteristically betrayed them. Ours has been aud is a government of the lawyers, by the lawyers and for—the lawyers? No. True to the parasitism of their professional nature, they have made it a government for the clients who own them; and unless the people awake from their blindness it will continue to be such a government, until the Reign of the Lawyer is succeeded as it always has been in the past, by the open Reign of the Client himself; for loyal to his profession as an attorney, a retainer to the last, having always wielded his powers and his wits for the pay of a master, he meekly at the bidding of his lord, lays down the fruit at his feet.

This the learned and courtly Counsel of the Cabal was now proceeding to do. As we have intimated, he was a perfect pattern of the dignified, the elegant and the respectable. His —"a front like Jove's, eyes like Mars to threaten and command;" and "deep graven on his brow Deliberation sat and Public Care." This, the outside seeming; within, unconscious to himself, because justified by custom and precedent and the established Order of Things—the damning spirit of his profession, prompting him to minister to all the evils of our false civilization and the false industrialism by which it is almost wholly supported.

Oh! what talents are suborned to the undoing of mankind by the false systems of society that hold us in their destroying grasp; talents that else would straightway lead the miserable multitude out of the mire and degradation in which it is now so pitifully groping. But not so are the refulgent plains of Universal Brotherhood to be reached, though reached

at last they will be. The toiling, yearning millions may only "rise on stepping-stones of their dead selves to better things;" on stepping-stones of the toiling, yearning millions, dead and dying who precede them. Ay, so be it. If only that were all, how cheerfully would the lowly ones of the earth go forward to their martyrdom and yield themselves living or dead to the upward mounting of their children and their children's children in never-ending procession as they teem forth out of the eternal future through the eternal present into the everlasting past; that were happiness. But to go forward only to fill the crevasses prepared by Class and Power; only to fill the ditches dug by the selfish Few; only to fill the "sunken roads" washed by Privilege and Precedent and False System for their living grave; and to see their children and children's children in endless train, driven, crowding after them into the same yawning pit-falls, and to feel and know that the awful sacrifice is needless but for these artificial chasms, though inevitable because they must be filled before the pressing myriads of the future can pass on; this is to dash the immortal joy of martyrdom with unbearable bitterness.

Wash deeper thy "sunken roads," O Privilege! dig deeper thy ditches, O selfish Few! broaden thy yawning crevasses, O Class and Power! plant thou still mightier batteries beyond them, over against the onward-marching multitude and sweep them like grass before the scythe! strain and crack thy wits, O thou designer of Ways and Means! but for all that, thou art doomed. Thou canst not dig thy pitfalls deep enough, O self! O Privilege! O Class and Power! or fast enough or broad enough to stay but for a moment the onward sweep of the thronging millions of the Sons of Toil who are bearing down upon you. Though they must pass over on the quivering mass of their fallen and trampled fellows, again and again they reach you, they press upon you and at last will overwhelm you, like the mighty waters of an everlasting flood. Destiny leads them, hovers 'round about them and overshadows them unto final triumph. For destiny means God, and God means The Good, and The Good means thy eternal defeat. It means no bottomless pits on earth for the people; no "cul-de-sacs" for the human race; no Waterloos for Justice. It means Universal Brotherhood, Triumphant Humanity, the glory of the Reign of Right.

And yet it is this against which thou raisest thy puny arm, O miserable Self! thy childish conventionalities, O contemptible Class! thy bloody standard, O blinded Power! Against thy brothers, thy humanity, thy destiny, thy God. Foredoomed to defeat, thy very victories, thy surest destruction. And yet once again in spite of the awful warnings of the past, its charnel-houses where the skulls and bones and dust of Class and Power lie mingled ever with those of the people whom they would enslave; in spite of its wrecks of wealth-glutted empires, its blackened ruins wrought by the lurid fires of internecine warfare, with the dismantled palace ever side by side with the smoking cottage; in spite of its ghastly relics of popular revolution and national reigns of terror, where bloody crowns and coats of arms and mailed hands are seen in the awful death-clutch of those despised and oppressed but unconquerable ones—the People; and yet once again in spite of these warnings of the past, these lessons of history, and the teachings of reason itself that tell thee thy fate is inextricably joined to that of thy brother, yet once again thou raisest thy sacrilegious hand against him; once again thou goest, if to his destruction, no less surely to thy own.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE WAYS AND MEANS.

"GENTLEMEN," said this personal representative of Hell; this ex-congressman, ex-senator, ex-cabinet member, present politician, lawyer and advisory agent of this treasonous council: "You hold in your easy grasp the Ways and Means for the rapid and final closing of the ancient and perplexing case of The People versus Property.

"Social philosophers and political economists in their acutest definition of Man, have called him the producing animal. That is, man alone lives by means of his own productions and produces by means of machinery. This is most obviously and vitally true of the massed and teeming life of modern civilization. Those then who control production, its sources and machinery, control the means of life, and therefore, life itself. Old Shylock said truly, 'you take my life when you do take the means whereby I live.' Those therefore who control the sources and machinery of producing the means of living, control the fountain of all earthly power. The physical, the social, the moral, the intellectual, the political at last bow down before this control because all are dependent upon it.

"A few more links of logic completes this philosopher's chain and brings me to the point I wish to make. The sources and machinery of production constitute capital; capital constitutes the only true property, and property therefore, is the only true power. Fundamentally and practically there is no other. The breechless giant, the moneyless duke, the moralist in rags, the philosopher in crocked and battered hat, the king without revenue, the people without property are but puny and sorry objects. Clothe them with property and you clothe them with power; strip them of property and you strip them of power.

"History is but the vitascope in which this principle of philosophy is presented before us.

"In the far-off past, property was held in the right of phys-

ical might; and physical might possessing itself of property possessed itself of the source of power and thus held its subjects in a double bondage. But as society grew into the community, and the community into the state, the physical was gradually merged into the political and the political in the course of time became the lawful—the legal. As this change progressed the power of property as the fundamental power of society became more and more apparent until today property held by the right, not of physical might, but by the right of legal might, is undisputedly supreme and so regarded by those who understand the conditions of modern life.

"Mark you, I said property held by the right of legal might, for I shall have occasion to refer again to that phase of the situation.

"Gentlemen, you and those you represent are today, the undisputed masters, the legal possessors of the undisputed means of power in this country—the sources, the machinery, the means of production. The question you have submitted to me is, as I understand it, how may this possession be most securely retained in present hands, or rather most certainly prevented from passing into that of the incapable and incompetent populace.

"In considering the Ways and Means of prevention, we must first consider and have a clear understanding of the methods by which such an undesirable transfer of possession could possibly be effected. These methods will be found to resolve themselves into two. The possession of the mighty sources of industrial power which you own and control can be transferred from your hands into that of the people only by physical might or by legal might—by action of force or by action of law.

"Action of law can be effected only either by the private acts of individuals in the usual course of commerce and trade or by the public acts of government in the usual course of legislation and politics. Whether or not the people can ever in their private capacity wrest from you the ownership and control of the property powers in question by the usual methods of commerce and trade, it is needless I think to discuss. If they can," and for the first time the features of the speaker relaxed into a characteristic smile that seemed a sort of composite reflection of the smiles of pride and security and dis-

dain that played over the faces of his client audience; "if they can, why that is a private matter between them and you and is a liberty of which we would not deprive them. It would seem that the certainty of failure would be sufficiently apparent to deter them from such private commercial attempts but such we know has not been the case. We have been treated from time to time to the spectacle of ambitious popular organizations having for their object the initiation and extension of the principle of private co-operative ownership and control of industry in general and distribution in particular; said extension to result finally and naturally in resolving the millions of the 'hoi-polloi' into a monster company identical in membership and territory with the nation itself. These for the most part have as a matter of course died ere they were born and in any case can usually be left to the nipping frosts of the greed, the over-reaching, the distrust and general managerial incompetency of both membership and directors. If anything else be needed to the utter overthrow of these attempts at the legal seizure of industrial power by the people in their private capacity, you have but to interpose most lightly and the project falls to the ground. Whether or not the last and most audacious of these attempts shall be left to the usual natural fate of such organizations or shall be hastened to its end by your interposing shadow, is but for you to determine. I refer of course to the organization known as the Industrial Socialists.

"Like the many similar organizations which have preceded it to a disastrous end, it might be safely left to the disintegrating effects of the selfish antagonisms inherent in human nature which forever make impracticable all co-operative schemes of large magnitude; but the bad effects on the people of its continued success and larger growth and most especially the popular effects of some new and dangerous principles involved in its industrial system, may perhaps justify its quickened destruction at your hands.

"The new and dangerous principles to which I refer and which I believe require the immediate suppression of the order, are embodied in its monetary plan and its so-called Policing of Industry; the former professedly reducing money to simply and only a medium of exchange, a counter in trade, destroying all its private investment and private money-loan-

ing qualities by placing upon the collectivity the duty of mediumizing all values, which is but another way of saying that the government shall be the only money-loaner; the latter requiring of all labor-employing industries a recognized responsibility to public supervision and control in regard to wages and dividends and profits, involving a most abject subjection of private affairs to a most inquisitorial public inspection. The disruption of the society at this stage of its growth would I believe result in a most salutary lesson to the people. You have but to speak, and it is done. At a breath from you this relatively and powerful and successful organization will be scattered as chaff before the wind. It is not necessary for me to suggest the Ways and Means of effecting so small a matter."

Whether the courtly gentleman of dignified cunning meant morally small or commercially small he did not stop to explain. Certainly there were none in that assembly who would have put the former construction upon it.

"Other and mightier opponents have gone down before your quiet methods of boycott, discrimination and concentrated competition and so will this latest. If however, anything else be needed to complete its dissolution, you have but to introduce your agents into the organization and the machinery of the courts will do the rest; a few injunctions and forced receiverships would alone destroy its usefulness. And as I have said of all attempts of the people at your ouster by legal might from the possession of the industrial powers of the country through the private methods of trade and commerce, they are foredoomed to failure. They may therefore be dismissed from further consideration;" and with a wave of his hand, he swept out of existence the hope of the independent laborer, farmer and artizan, the free and independent individual workman wherever he toiled for a simple living, an humble home, a crust of bread unpoisoned and unshadowed by the presence of a Master; the same, same graceful gesture of the elegant and refined exponent of modern demonology, and demonolatry, likewise swept out of existence the hope of any combinations, industrial or commercial, having for their object the just and free participation of the individual members in the result of their toil. In that gentle wave of the white hand of the individualist, individualism swallowed up the individual in an

eighty million mouthful and there remained after the similitude of Jonah and the whale, only the people and the trusts; in sight, only the trusts; inside, only the people. But let us see how the advisory agent expresses it.

"There remains then, gentlemen, only two methods through which your property and your powers may be compassed by the people—through physical might or through the legal might, not of private action in trade and industry, but of public action in politics and government. Private endeavor is, as we have seen, eliminated from the problem. There remains for the people only the revolution of force or the revolution of political action. Of the two I am unable to decide from which you have the least to fear. The Ways and Means that will prevent and frustrate the one can be largely depended upon to prevent and frustrate the other; and as I have said, of those Ways and Means you are the easy Master.

"For instance, taking first the revolution or Force, meaning thereby a popular uprising of the people and not a local riot or 'emeute,' I have only to remind you that that means war, and that war in these modern times means organization and machinery, and organization and machinery mean capital. The engines of modern warfare are veritable machines that require capital and large and well organized capital to produce and operate. The days of the knotted club, the battle-ax and the broadsword are gone. War now requires the mighty cannon, the matchless machine guns, the rapid-fire rifles, the dynamite projectors and ammunition literally by the ton. The multitude without the modern equipments of war are but a rabble; and they are not only without them today, but the possession of those in existence are practically in hands entirely friendly to your interests; whether or not you control the means of producing others, I leave to be answered by the president of the National Arms and Ammunition trust whom I see is present.

"So much for the machinery of war—now as to its organization. The latter requires first, that a sentiment favorable to it be aroused among the people; that means agitation, and agitation can practically be effected only through the channels of communication, news dissemination and the methods of popular education which you undoubtedly control. The president of the Consolidated Press who is also present, in-

forms has that their organization and news monopoly is now so perfect that it is possible to isolate completely any and every locality from the general news of the country except as the same may creep into public knowledge by the slow process of the mail; or to state it differently, any undesirable news may be strictly confined to the locality in which the happening occurred; and so thorough is the understanding and concert of action among the great central newspapers of the country, the mighty metropolitan press upon which not only their own direct constituency depends for news, but the country and exchange press as well, that news suppression and dissemination are under absolute control. Add to these comfortable facts, the further statement that you have in your hands the telegraph lines which furnish the only means of private rapid communication and the transportation lines which carry the public mails, and that the postoffice department itself is subservient to your influence, and you will at once see that in a country territorially as large as ours, no revolutionary agitation can be successfully carried on, no revolutionary organization successfully effected, and no concerted movement possible among the people. In a word, you have it in your power to work the wondrous miracle of rolling up like a scroll six centuries of time for the people and reducing them to the days of the stage coach, the private post and the penman's art; while you yourselves remain heirs of all the ages, speaking across continents, gathering the news of the world from hamlet to mart at each morning's breakfast table and masters of all the modern means of organization, education and intelligence; able thereby, not only to prevent adverse agitation, education and organization among the masses and keep them ignorant of things not mete for them to know, but to mould them to your hand by educating them as you desire, agitating your own cause and discounting undesirable news and retarding damaging facts before they can work their evil; and bewildering, confusing and dividing where you cannot convince and unite to your own purposes.

To strengthen the already seemingly impregnable position of the great property interests of the country, I would recommend in this connection that the movement so well begun of building armories and establishing barracks at all the large labor and transportation centers be continued. These

should be so equipped and enlarged and strengthened as to make them practically unassailable by any local uprising of the people. The National Guard and regular army should be increased in both numbers and efficiency and the Arms and Ammunition trust should make complete their control of the producing plants of the country and as far as practicable should place their better class of small arms beyond the reach of the wage-earning classes by placing prohibitory prices upon them. Fortunately, most of our large labor-employing centers are lake or sea-coast cities, where under the plausible pretext of a foreign foe, the largest and completest government military works may be established. Under the same plea the most extensive plants for the production of the most modern and deadly engines of war both government and private, may and should at once be carried forward to completion. These things done, a handful of our soldiers will easily control any riotous mass of the populace, and a display of our power will overawe and quell the mightiest concourse of malcontents that they will be able to gather together.

"So much for the 'machinery of war.' A word now as to the means of organizing a Revolution of Force. On all the modern facilities for organization you should obtain a still firmer grasp. The censorship of the news should be even more rigid, the metropolitan press should be organized into a still closer corporation. Newspapers offensive to your interests should be mercilessly but quietly blacklisted and boycotted as only Capital knows how to do it. The so-called reform press should be made to feel that 'Jordan is a hard road to travel,' and that it grows harder and more difficult as the months roll on. The establishment of new sheets of that kind should be made next to impossible, by charging letter postage on sample copies of all newspapers not already having a bona-fide subscription list, and by denying admission to the mails as second-class matter all publications that have not such lists established. The Postal laws must be so amended as to give the Postmaster General the right to deny the use of the mails to such persons or organizations as he may have reason to believe are using them for incendiary purposes, such as inciting the people to riot, insurrection or other forms of treason, in much the same manner as he now has the power to deny mail privileges to such as he may believe are using them for

fraudulent purposes. The railroad, express and telegraph trusts should closely follow the actions of the authorities in these particulars and promptly second them, by, so far as practicable, quietly denying the use of their facilities to their employes or others for such purposes. If your labor organizations are disposed to be troublesome, the means just suggested may be used to frustrate concert of action between them. Nor has the power of injunction been exhausted by our courts; but I would suggest as the surest means of their control, the influencing of their officials by systematic political support, through whom alone the members may adequately act. Those who cannot be properly influenced must systematically be made to feel that the power of property is not to be safely attacked. You know how to dispose of such unruly agitators and leaders; but quietly, gentlemen, quietly, in all things. The dignified and reposeful exercise of power is most impressive as well as most effective."

The attorney in an unconscious gesture here showed his own dignified and reposeful person to the best advantage as a living and therefore the most impressive and effective illustration of his remark. Pausing a moment as though to observe the full effect of this personal illustration of his own innermost character and methods, he continued:

"I come now a step nearer the real purpose of our deliberations which is to decide not simply on the Ways and Means of preventing the people from possessing themselves 'en masse' of the property powers of the country, either by a Revolution of Force or by a Political Revolution, but to destroy utterly as far as may be the Spirit of Change, of insubordination or revolution among the people. Your present posssession must not only be made secure, but the future must be cleared of all menace, all threats, all doubts. To that end, as so accurately stated by President Gorman, the very Spirit of Insubordination that broods among the people must be forever quenched. The causes that produce this spirit of unrest, of discontent, of insubordination among the lower classes have also been very tersely stated by Mr. Gorman as prosperity, education and political power beyond their station. High wages result in a standard of living and a hope that is very destructive of the proper class feeling and respect which the wage-earning people must for their own good and the good of

society and government be brought to possess. Like the peasant in the poem, it causes 'a vague unrest, a nameless longing to fill their breast; a wish they hardly dare to own, for something more than they have known;' not only that, but a relative high standard of living raises correspondingly what I may term the Level of Despair. That is, the Level of Despair follows closely the accustomed standard of living. But a curious property of this Desperation Level, is, that it can only be reached by a sudden drop in the standard of living. If the latter is lowered gradually, the level at which despair and consequent desperation is reached keeps steadily below it, until a people can finally be brought to live very contentedly in a state which if they had reached suddenly would have seemed desperate. This fact must be taken into consideration by you in the general lowering of wages and consequent standard of living which you are contemplating for the people. For I warn you, that the Level of Despair must not be reached by a majority of our people at any time; for if it should be, all our calculations will have been made in vain. Despair and Desperation can no more be controlled by calculation or reason or foresight than could formerly 'spontaneous combustion.' Your organizing power, your power over organization among the people, would prove to be a but a rope of sand. Make a cut in wages, sudden, deep and general and the beast that now fawns upon you and cowers before you in chains that seem to us beyond his strength, will break them like threads and turn and rend you and destroy you.

"But wages may be safely lowered gradually and systematically or suddenly among now one class of laborers and then another as you may have some special purpose to serve in the industry in which they are engaged. The working people too, must firmly be made to understand that a general lowering of wages and standard of living is inevitable from natural causes, such as increasing density of population, fiercer competition of one section of the country with another, greater purchasing power of money and natural over-production incident to the use of labor-saving machinery in industry. That this last will result in producing a large and permanent class of unemployed can not be doubted; and to that fact must the people be brought to accustom themselves. This class, the unemployed,

while miserable in the extreme, I regard as very useful and necessary, not to say indispensable to our modern scheme of industry and civilization. They can never prove dangerous, for their numbers must always be but a tithe of our poulation. What are a few scattered millions among our teeming populace, and besides those forced into that class are ever in the main the shiftless, wavering, weak, incompetent creatures who do but cumber the earth under any circumstances and their Level of Despair is so low that their maintenance will always be an insignificant item to society upon which they must depend. They seem to realize that it is a great charity to permit them to exist as best they may and are consequently grateful to be granted such permission. They are indispensable to us however, for they are the greatest levers we have in breaking the efforts of labor organizations and in forcing continually lower wages upon the employed. The unemployed man is always so much more dependent than the employed, and his standard of living so much lower that he always regards the latter as a very lucky fellow whatever his wages may be and as a general thing stands eagerly ready to take any abandoned place opened to him. It is chiefly by means of this utterly dependent class that the dependence of the whole body of wage-earners is finally to be irresistibly effected. A few judicious turns of the wage-screw and they will all realize and feel this dependence, and when they are in fact industrially dependent upon you and feel and realize it, they are yours. To effect this, the wage-rate must continually be so adjusted as to keep the standard of living among our lower classes too low for realizable hope, too high for utter despair.

"The second in our trio of insubordination breeders, 'education beyond their station,' cultivates the spirit of insubordination in much the same way as 'over-prosperity' does. It creates in the people a desire for a standard of living above their class and besides makes them dissatisfied with their fixed condition in life and unfits them for the performance of the hard duties incident to and inseparable from it. This evil must be remedied. I do not however believe it to be feasible to make a direct attack upon the free public school system as an institution. But there are more ways of taking the life of a canine than filling its trachea with butter. There are some really meritorious public school reforms which the people will read-

ily accept as such without suspicion and which will serve our purpose quite as well.

"The Institution may not be diminished, but the school age, school term and school day may very properly be. This is but incidental however. My main recommendation is to attack not the institution but its curriculum. Gradually cut down the literary and scientific courses and substitute therefor Manual Training. And the press controlled by you should advocate this reform quietly and opportunely.

"Manual Training, gentlemen, is the key by which a gentleman's education may be locked from the people. If apprenticeship were practicable that would be a remedy, or rather would make a remedy unnecessary. But the times are changed and the ancient and honorable Institution of apprenticeship is gone forever; for apprenticeship means trades, and today there are no trades. Organization has destroyed them. The tenth part of a trade may be learned, the thumb or the big-toe of a trade, but no trade.

"Manual training furnishes however a perfect substitute in effect for the lost apprenticeship. The Industrial School must more and more be made to take the place of the literary school. The hands and eyes and bodily powers of the future generations of workers may thus be educated to the purposes which they must serve in life. But as it is neither necessary nor desirable for their brains to serve any particular purpose aside from their vocation, brain education per se may very profitably for society be suffered to fall into 'innocuous desuetude.' As I have said, the people themselves will take very kindly and innocently to this reform, for I repeat, it really is in many ways very desirable apart from any ulterior motives connected with it. Give the people this in lieu of history, ancient and modern languages, literature, science, economics, civil government, etc., and they will be quite satisfied if their children can but indifferently read, write and cipher."

CHAPTER XIX.

POLITICAL REVOLUTION.

THERE remains then to be considered, the third and last of the causes that lead to unrest and mutiny among the masses, namely, the possession of political privileges incompatible with their station in life, inconsistent with their dependent and subordinate condition and quite beyond their powers of mind to exercise wisely or safely.

"How may this evil be remedied? This brings me to the consideration of the second of the only two possible means by which the people could triumph over property—namely, Political Revolution. How may it be prevented? If I have felt that I was treading the firm earth before, I feel now that in my understanding of this phase of the subject and my ability to handle it, the firm earth has changed to solid rock.

"Effectual Political Revolution by the masses is if possible, even more impossible than a Revolution of Force. Political power has already practically passed from their hands. The popular ballot is today but a popular bauble. It can never be effectually used against you. As in industrial, so in political power you hold the famous 'nine points of the law.' and in politics the nine points control the tenth, as indeed in industry it does as well. Political independence can never be associated in the same person with industrial dependence. As long as any considerable portion of the people are industrially your dependents, they will remain your political dependents. A majority are so today, will remain so and more will rapidly become so as the determinations of this council are put into execution.

"Again, successful effort by the people through political action essentially requires agitation and education to arouse a favorable sentiment, and organization to put the sentiment into effect. As I have already reminded you, the means and facilities for popular agitation, education and organization are under your complete control. The people are absolutely shut off from these first necessary requisites to successful action; and

those incomplete organizations which they may and will from time to time effect, impotent by reason of their very incompleteness, can be rendered utterly harmless by the usual methods of controlling their leaders. There are always a sufficient number of those who make their way to the front in every so-called reform political organization, who are susceptible to influence. They are after loaves and fishes of one brand or another and we know that they know who possesses the brands they covet, whatever their name may be. Those political parties to which full organizing facilities are permitted will of course always be officered in their highest leadership by those in proper sympathy with the property interests of the country. This has been and always will be the case, because modern political organization and manipulation is a science, and science requires intellect, and intellect was never yet allied very strongly with the masses. It goes where it naturally belongs, to the conserving and civilizing influences of society. The lesser officers and leaders of these dominant political parties will, by those natural instincts of their constitutions which bring them to the front, be yours ever most obediently to serve.

"But gentlemen, not only are the people completely shut out from effective political power by their industrial dependence, their agitational and educational dependence, and their organizing dependence upon you, but to set the seal forever upon their political impotence, they are bound hand and foot by the very form and plan of our most wise governmental system itself. I am ready to stake my reputation as a politician and statesman upon the truth of this declaration—that for completest and safest investment of Class and Property with effective political sovereignty to the people, no form of government has ever been or ever will be devised equal to that of a representative, constitutional democracy such as ours. That may appear to be a remarkable declaration but I repeat it—no other form of government so effectually and safely closes the door of sovereignty on the people, and so effectually and safely opens it and keeps it open for Property and Class. No other so guarantees conservatism, that is, the Established Order of Things, with such favorable changes as the Established Order may desire; and no other so completely prevents popular reforms as the people understand that term. Giving

the people the semblance of power over every department of the government, it everywhere denies them the substance. Ostensibly and by construction a government by their consent, it really and in fact is a government in which their consent is nil. It gives them the privilege of selecting the agents of authority but absolutely no direct power over their acts. They may pass upon men, but, and here is their bondage, not upon measures. Having selected their agents, they can neither force them to any desired action, nor having acted contrary to their desire, can they revoke their acts. I say the people can not. Their only remedy is no remedy, for it is but a repetition of the farce, electing other agents endowed with like powers. Their agents are in fact not agents, not servants, but despots in their sphere so far as the people are concerned, independent of them, above them, over them.

"Naturally and as a matter of course these creatures-of-the-hour act for the public weal only and alone when their individual weal does not prompt them to act otherwise. And here is the especial opportunity of Property and Class (the many and potent campaign and ante-election opportunities being passed over) here is the especial opportunity of Property and Class to see to it that the individual weal is made paramount to that of the consenting, helpless public. It may not be indeed that every man has his price, as that eminent and high-priced statesman Walpole so sagaciously observed; but certain it is that enough of these 'agents of the people' will always be found ready priced and priced low.

"No better evidence could be adduced touching the utter incapacity of the masses for self-government and unfitness to be entrusted with real political or industrial power than this conception of theirs, that sovereignty consists in the right to delegate authority and not in the right to control continuously the acts of the person to whom authority is so delegated; in the right to choose their political despots and not in the right to control them, to make of them office-men. not officials.

"To illustrate still further this profound misconception and ignorance on the part of the people, of things governmental and their inability ever to exercise real power in this country, they are almost unanimous in their belief that the only way to prevent or escape the despotism of their chosen agents, is first—to have as many despots as possible, not per-

ceiving that in their numbers individual responsibility is evaded, avoided, shirked, thrown from one to another, then to nebulous majorities and finally to that arch-humbug and scapegoat—party; not perceiving that with their conception of sovereignty and for their purposes the fewest possible agents, nay one supreme one in whom all authority should for the time appointed be invested, would be infinitely better than a multitude in that it concentrated, if authority, also individual responsibility and in the same degree the power of public opinion which alone can control such agents.

"Second, having selected their despots and surrendered the sovereign power to them, they childishly think to escape the effects of their folly by dividing the powers of government into executive, legislative and judicial. It is a popular sentiment amounting to a fetich or superstition that if these three functions of government can be kept separate, the people are safe from political oppression. They think by electing some of their numbers executive despots, others legislative despots and others judicial despots, the one acting as a check upon the other, the whole problem of government and popular independence is solved. They fail to see that responsibility is again divided and lost, that to secure action favorable to themselves all three sets of despots must be faithful to popular interests, and that on the other hand the so-called enemies to the general weal have only to secure one set favorable to them, and may by influencing first one and then another and another, now this one, now that, now the other, completely block any 'reform' of the people and easily secure what they want themselves. They do not perceive that to divide power among irresponsible agents is but to furnish the 'cups' for the shell-man's game, and that such a government is only the ancient game of thimble-rig over again, and that again the bumpkin is the victim when he thought he had a sure thing.

"The people can not comprehend that however convenient and highly proper and important such a division of powers may be, the essential reason therefor is simply and alone that the public eye may easily and clearly see the every process by which governmental effects are produced, in order that, not individual but functional responsibility may be identified, to the end that the people themselves by direct act could remedy the wrong or the defect. The essential reason for the division of

government functions is not primarily for safety from functionaries, but for clearness of popular vision into processes; the end is safety of course, not by making one a check against another, but, seeing clearly where the evil lies to remedy it by forcing the proper performance of the one going wrong. The object is to enable the sovereignty to say—our agents fail in the execution of a law, we direct its execution; our agents err in their judgment of a law, we direct this judgment; our agents refuse to make or repeal a law, we make or repeal it. The people are blind to this vital principle and being blind to it, they may be led whithersoever you list.

"But their crowning folly and our greatest security lies in their third and most trusted refuge against the power of their chosen agents, namely, their reverenced and most holy constitution; a trojan horse taken by them for the one and only true palladium of liberty.

"Constitutional rights is a word they conjure with; but constitutional-wrongs is a word they know nothing of. Now a constitution like the division of government functions, is right and proper enough if confined to its legitimate purpose. It is a convenient instrument for directing governmental agents in the performance of their duties; it is proper enough as a general 'letter-of-instruction' to office-men informing them on important heads of duties how far they may go and where stop, in the absence of special instructions and advice from their principal; its legitimate purpose is to direct, instruct and restrain subordinates. But the ludicrous, the ridiculous, the childish aspect of the popular conception lies in the fact, that they make their constitution restrain themselves as well as their servants; they make it a letter of instruction to themselves as well as their agents and one that practically can not be recalled, amended or changed. It not only irrevocably binds themselves but their posterity to unnumbered generations as well. Not only that, but to clinch the thing, to forge and rivet the chain of their own making unalterably upon themselves, they have even denied themselves the right of declaring what their constitution means and given the authority of interpreting it unreservedly into the keeping of agents removed the furthest possible from them—agents whom they can neither select, remove nor control. I know of nothing in all history to parallel this remarkable display of

simplicity in the masses. But, gentlemen, in their simplicity lies your opportunity and your safety. The powers which you possess can not be wrested from you except the plan of government be first radically changed or at least the constitution be vitally amended. The processes by which such amendments and changes can only be effected, place them among the things virtually impossible so far as the people are concerned. As I said therefore a moment ago, the very form and plan of our government bind the people hand and foot in unbreakable chains of their own forging. The founders of government purposely or accidentally, consciously or unconsciously, have most skillfully rendered the people impotent while apparently striving to make them omnipotent, and at the same time most securely enthroned Property and the Property Classes. They deposed George the Third, but placed a Caesar on his throne; they destroyed the House of Lords, but erected the Constitution in its place; they gave the people the privilege of choosing their rulers, but denied them the right of controlling their acts; they divided the powers of government, but placed them beyond the reach of the people; they made a constitution, but practically forbade the people to change or construe it. In short they probably fooled some of themselves, certainly fooled the general populace, triple padlocked its powers and bequeathed the key thereof to you.

"Resting then already so secure from effective political revolution, will the denial of the ballot to any considerable portion of the people further enhance that security? In my opinion, clearly not. The only reason that can be urged for such action, is, that the privilege of suffrage tends to breed the Spirit of Insubordination. No doubt that is true. But I think that tendency is best corrected by such a continual frustration of their hopes from political action as will teach them finally to regard the ballot, not as a public means of establishing public measures and principles, but as a personal privilege by means of which very narrow personal ends at most may be effected. By this method the right-of-suffrage ceases to be regarded by the people as a palladium of liberty and becomes a very cheap and common thing; too cheap and common ever to breed by its use any high and insubordinate spirit, the very reverse in fact.

"On the other hand there are many reasons that cause me

to regard unrestricted suffrage as a very important element in the present and future security of your Class. The wage-earning classes which would of course be the ones cut off by a restricted ballot are the very ones over whom you have the most control. They are in the main absolutely dependent upon you. They are to all intents and purposes yours. They have no interests outside their job. On that one and only question they are as intensely conservative as you could desire. They will vote to hold their job when they will vote for nothing else under the sun. Their job is of your giving, and they can always be brought to see that your interests are theirs. As touching your interests therefore they can never be radical.

"With the next class above them, the small property owners, they can politically have nothing in common; and it is to this class to whom power would be given by a restricted suffrage, a class conservative indeed but not as against you; and being far less completely and directly dependent upon you, they would be far more dangerous and difficult to handle. Cut off the wage-earners politically and you cut off the great body of your own retainers—a body that can always be effectively used by you against the middle classes politically as surely as you can use the latter against the former physically.

"And lastly, you can only keep the people in subjection to you by keeping a practical majority of them dependent upon you, by keeping their knowledge to the level of their pursuits and by keeping up a show of giving them the measure of 'rights' which the age and the civilization under which they live have accustomed them to regard as theirs. To state it boldly and plainly, you must keep them dependently poor; you must keep them ignorant, and you must amuse them with a bauble of 'rights.'

"The ballot is the bauble which for the present they must keep. But gentlemen, while it may be wise to allow them to keep it, it will not be wise to allow them its too frequent use. I believe in a universal suffrage as to the individuals possessing it, but restricted as to the occasions of its use. There lies your safest way out of much of the worry, much of the turmoil, much of the expense attendant upon the political control of your people. Business requires it, discipline of the people requires it, decency, comfort, ease, economy, and above all, our completest safety requires it.

"Strong arguments are from time to time urged in favor of a change in the tenure of the Presidential office. These should challenge serious consideration and attention, to the end that the present Constitutional limit may be removed and a more reasonable and useful one substituted. Your business and other important interests are now too frequently disturbed and disquieted by the turmoil and heat of a Presidential election. Between elections the people are without even the semblance of power. During these periods the entire sovereignty is yielded up to irresponsible officials. Double the time between elections and you divide all the evils attendant upon them. You destroy half the opportunities for insubordination and quadruple your own power. Such a procedure as I suggest, would avoid this disturbance of business relations which now comes every four years and would do away with a lot of useless and, to you, dangerous agitation. It may not be amiss to add that a substantial extension of the Executive tenure may easily be secured by providing at the same time for the ineligibility of an incumbent to succeed himself—a measure which has long found favor with a large class of our people as a consummation much to be desired, and which seriously threatens to interfere with our designs by limiting the tenure of office to one short term of four years. How may these changes be accomplished? By a simple amendment to that unchangeable Constitution, doubling the term of office established therein.

"And I would recommend that while the amendment business is up, another section be added, reciting that neither the police powers of government nor the right of eminent domain shall ever be exercised to the direct or indirect injury or destruction of established private industries as such. This will effectually draw the great properties of the country out of the range of political action, stopping the present tendency towards police control and forever settling the question of Public Ownership.

"I advise you however, that no important amendment can be made to our constitution by ordinary methods. Practically there has never been a section added to that famous instrument that has not been put there by the sword. Of its fifteen amendments in more than a hundred years, twelve were really but after-thoughts of the generation that created it; the re-

maining three, the only ones that may be called amendments, had a bloody birth. The times of course have changed since then. The great industrial powers of the present had then practically no existence as a controlling factor in politics and government. But great as those powers are, and potent as is their influence, I do not believe that even the simple additions to the fundamental law of the land suggested can be made except in the confusion and turmoil of civil strife. This may be comparatively mimic in its proportions, should be entirely the result of your own secret manipulation, and brought about only when the entire machinery for putting them through shall be ready for action. The industrial movements which you contemplate will probably be sufficient in themselves to result in the state of disorder desired for such a purpose. The next great strike may be given a quasi political significance by the press, charged in part to the secret agitation of some one of the revolutionary political parties and in the general apprehension and alarm aroused among the smaller business and property classes, the thing may be done with the aid of your retainers broken in organization and spirit by the successful suppression of their impotent rebellion.

"In my opinion the Reign of Property is already assured in this country. On its side are arrayed all the organizing, educating, civilizing forces of the age—the press, the pulpit, the bar, the bench, the news agencies gathering, transmitting, disseminating or suppressing altogether, and the government powers themselves. The latter are identified as completely as possible with the great business interests of the country, in its legislative, executive and judicial branches. The recommendations I have made but assure an easier, pleasanter, deeper, more permanent flow of power from the Fountain of Property. Property can never be dethroned, you may depend upon that. It is entrenched in every civilized government on the globe more firmly today than ever before in the history of the world. It stretches beyond national boundaries, crosses and recrosses its lines of interest from nation to nation, and binds governments so intimately together that tacitly there exists among them an alliance offensive and defensive against the hordes of discontent and Socialism wherever they may appear upon the earth. In this country we do not need any out-

side aid. It would be forthcoming if we did; but happily the task before us is an easy one."

Down sat Mephistopheles with the same stately grace with which he had arisen. Then up rose one after another of the Cabal, approving, suggesting, criticising. Over all hovered the spirit of mastery, security and certain success. Result, desired result, was but a matter of detail and instructions to subordinates.

After much sharp and rapid discussion and comparing of plans, it was decided that by a systematic and concerted employment of all the agents industrial, agitational and political at their command, all the immediately practical in the advisory agents suggestions might be effected in a reasonably short time, not later than the next Presidential election. Then or before, the amendments should be fixed in the Constitution; labor organizations controlled or destroyed; the Industrial Socialists "blown from the guns;" the wage-class reduced to a proper wage-scale, and undesirable agitation and unruly agitators practically suppressed, the required "enactments" and "constructions" of law to that end having been previously secured. The military arm of the government should be strengthened, armories built, arms plants extended, the arms supply controlled, and the army and national guard increased in numbers and efficiency and so placed and handled as most effectually to keep the populace in subjection. Various committees were appointed to perfect and direct the details of these movements, and the advisory agent was selected to be the first President under the New Regime.

CHAPTER XX.

THE NEW REGIME.

THE NEW Regime! The New Order of Things! What was it to be? and when? and how?

Some there were who dreamed of crowns and coronets and the brilliant pageantry of splendid courts, glowing, glittering and shining over and around and through the streets of beautiful Washington, democratic Washington, phosphorescent, putrescent Washington; with a House of Lords in the north end of the Capitol and a House of Commons, very common Commons in the south end, and Windsor Castle "enlarged and improved" at the White House, through whose royal halls should sound from lackey lip to lackey lip their own princely titles nobly carved for themselves, by themselves, with the sword? no, barbarian! with the milled edge of the almighty dollar.

The dream of women, this, you ask dear reader! no, sweet innocent! of many brawny, broadclothed men as well as hundreds of their weakling apes; some with brains and some with none, but all with that false ambition for the show and power of prideful privilege and place, which the surge and flow of a republic made so uncertain and unstable as to be uncomfortable and undignified if not absolutely ridiculous. "Who in a republic," asked these royalists of each other, "can found a 'house?" who can build up and establish permanent place or position for one's children and his children's children to even the second or third generation? what incentive to noble action in this changing, heaving, shifting, evanescent condition of social and political life; no class to rise out of, no class to rise into, no stable 'orders,' no lasting 'honors;' this mulish state, with no pride of ancestry, no hope for posterity?

"Oh, for a fixed 'place,' a secure 'position.' an heirloom of privilege and power for me and mine, for us and ours."

No selfishness in that, you see; no cruelty, no injustice for you and yours, for the people and theirs, for the unnumbered millions shut out forever. Not for these ambitious ones the pride of ancestry, that the grey hairs were honest, the

hoary head honorable, the worn, bent frame the housing of a man who loved justice and truth and mercy and his fellow-man, and "did unto others as he would they should do unto him;" not for them the "hope for posterity" that it should inherit such heirlooms from such an ancestry, that it should hold no "place" it had not earned, no "position" to which it had no right, no "privilege and power" except that of righteous opportunity to do the best and be the noblest permitted it by nature; not for them the lasting "honors," the "stable orders," the established "classes" of justice, truth and right; Oh, no.

And yet there were some thousands, some few thousands happily, of these shriveled souls, with these worm-ripened ideals and hopes. Not often did the people hear of their sentiments. Not often were they spoken outside of their "set." But by the example of their living they were doing what they could to propagate them, and they were not without power and influence. Many of the trust presidents and officials assembled at the banquet and many more of the capitalists whom they represented would have hailed with delight the immediate prospect of an American monarchy. They only regretted that the time was not yet quite ripe for the "coup d'tat" that should effect it, and comforted themselves meanwhile with the thought that it was surely and rapidly coming. "Yes, that," they dreamed, and their wives and sons and daughters and their sycophants dreamed, "was the new regime. But not yet."

Some good and true and patriotic citizens dreamed it too, fearingly dreamed it.

Others there were who did not dream, but saw or thought they saw that the new regime was but the old intensified, strengthened, extended, continued indefinitely; political methods more and more "effective and practical;" political parties more and more amenable to control of "leaders" and politicians; legislative bodies more and more responsive to the interests of "business and property;" the judiciary more and more conservative of the "rights of capital;" the executive more and more the "special agent of the money power;" the press, the pulpit, the bar, the bench, more and more the "organs of wealth;" the riotous mistakes of labor more and more capital's opportunity of pegging it down and pegging property

up; the people more and more dependent, subservient, submissive, until the rule of the dollar is undisputed in the land, and the pathway of the Oligarchy of Wealth is smoothed of all difficulties, social, industrial, and political. To this number belonged a large majority of the "money changers;" the managers of industry, the stock and bond holders and manipulators, the politicians and the professions generally. They said to each other, "Why paint the lily or gild refined gold? Why perilously do by blundering farce, what can be safely done by finesse and stealth? No new regime except the old for a hundred years and more at least."

"No new regime, aha! we'll see," laughed others confidently who knew they didn't dream, but saw, not "as in a glass, darkly," either, but as "face to face." "Our party will sweep the country this campaign and then you'll see. No new regime? aha! watch us turn the rascals out and our own honest fellows in, and then you'll see! then, ho, for high tariff, for prosperity, for more confidence, for a vigorous foreign policy, for expansion; and ho, for low tariff, for more coin, for sympathy for the man in the moon; down with the trusts, down with imperialism! ho, for the Monroe doctrine, for the Nicaragua canal, for currency reform, for rotation in office, for civil service, for undoing what the other fellows ought not to have done, and doing what they ought to have done. Ho, for the triumph of tweedledum! ho, for the downfall of tweedledee! no new regime? Well, what name will you give to that?"

So thought and lived the thought, thousands upon thousands of the "old party" voters in town and country, in factory and field and mine and farm, blinded by the prejudice and bigotry of habit, custom, environment, partisan passion, section and narrow self-interest; so thought and lived the thought thousands upon thousands of good men and true, who though senseful and bright, lived in the narrow circle of the past, partly from wilfulness, partly from lack of real opportunity to know of a different present, and partly from ignorance of their vital need to know it. But their wilfulness was growing less; their opportunities greater; and their ignorance enlightened. Still to them, in waning hope and belief however, the new administration if it were THEIR administration was the only new regime their vision could discern.

Passing over those despairing ones to whom the on-rush-

ing new order of things meant the sun veiled in darkness and the moon and stars in blood, the earth in chaos and mankind in everlasting woe; there was yet another class to whom the new regime meant a triumph for justice, for right principle and for the people; a restriction of privilege, an enlargement of just opportunity. To them it meant, that the reigning forces of corruption, defilement and pollution that marked industry, politics, government and society, growing over-bold, over-confident and over-impudent would overleap their purpose and by some audacious movement careless and contemptuous of the people, reveal their hideousness, hypocrisy and treason and thereby rouse to indignant and effective action an outraged nation. Whether that action of the disallusioned people would be of force and arms or of the ballot, they did not know; it depended on the measure of confidence among the adherents of entrenched capital; but this they knew, that it would be effective, that the despotism of capital would be forever broken and the reign of rings and bosses, political and plutocratic would be known no more in the land; for the causes that made them possible and the means of their extirpation were being revealed to the people, and the tide of aroused indignation would in its flood carry the people to the fullest and most effective reforms. To them it meant a new Declaration of Independence, a New Bill of Rights, a New Constitution, a government of the People, by the People and for the People, industrial as well as civil. The when and how were not for them to forechoose or foresee. A power mightier than they or the opposition would determine that; but when it came, that would be the New Regime.

Those who actually held to this belief were not many as compared with the multitude of the people, neither were they powerful, industrially or politically; but they did what they could to hasten the glad hour that should ring out the old and ring in the new. They were not always united in the hastening methods they undertook, but their one object was to bring the Thought, the Idea, the Principle of the Coming Reformation as clearly and rapidly as possible before the minds and hearts of the people.

In the organization of labor into trades unions, in the upbuilding of a political party, in educational agitation, in industrial association, in a hundred ways they labored but always

steadily towards the same object—the Responsible Administration of Industrial Power. And they believed that the leaven was working, that the people unconsciously even to themselves were absorbing and assimilating the doctrine more perhaps from the example and oppression of capitalism than from their own direct teachings; and that as the match to the fuse and the fuse to the mine, so would the provocation and the opportunity be to the present Order of Things. The most they could do would be to prepare and be ready to help shape the New Order upon the principles truest to justice and good government for all.

The action determined upon at the Cabal of the Trusts was already bearing fruit. In the deepening distress and ferment among the people an experienced eye could detect the results of a systematic movement in some powerful quarter that was steadily driving towards some fore-determined object. The arbitrary reduction of wages in first one industry controlled by the trusts and then in another and another; the skill and judgment shown in selecting the time and place and industry to be affected, making ineffective and vain the protests and strikes of the helpless employes; the closing of shops and shutting down of factories now here, now there, on plausible but specious pretenses; the wide range of industries affected, all clearly betokened that Design was at work in the first great movement against the people.

THE END.

BOOKS TO READ.

5c Books.

Trusts .....J. A. Wayland
A Study in Government .....H. E. Allen
Christ, Property and Man .....Rev. Breeze
Socialist Cartoons and Comments.....Warren
Bad Boy, illustrated .....L. A. Stockweli
Municipal Socialism .....Gordon
Socialism and Farmers .....Simons
Property ....Pyhurn
Utopia ....Thomas Moore
Ten Men of Money Island .....
Liherty ....Debs
Prison Lahor ....Debs
Government Ownership of Railroads....Gordon
The Evolution of the Class Struggle.....
Imprudent Marriages .....Blatchford
Packingtown ....A. M. Simons
Wage Lahor and Capital .....Karl Marx
Poems for the People .....
The Mission of the Working Class.....Vail
Socialist Songs, adapted to familiar tunes.....
How I Acquired My Millions.....
The Man Under the Machine .....Simons
After Capitalism, What .....
Woman and the Social Prohlem.....
The Axe at the Root..William Thurston Brown
Plutocracy or Nationalism, Which?....Bellamy
The Real Religion of Today..Rev. W. T. Brown
Decoy Ducks and Quack Remedies.....
....Leon Greenhaum
Why I Am a Socialist .....Geo. D. Herron
Evolution of Industry..... .....Watkins
Socialism and Slavery.....Hyndman
Land, Machinery and Inheritance.....Pyburn
The American Farmer..... ....Gordon
Panics, Cause and Cure..... .....Gordon
Labor, the Creator of Capital.....Pyhurn
The Water Tank .....Bellamy
The Social Conscience..... ....
Why Working Men Should Be Socialists.....
Why Railroad Men Should Be Socialists.....
Why Working Men Should Be Socialists.....
Title Deeds to Land .....Spencer
Socialism ....Simons
Wanted—A New Conscience..... ....
....Wilshire
The Man Under the Machino.....Simons
New Zealand in a Nutshell .....
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The Kingdom of Heaven is at Hand .....
To What Are the Trusts Leading.....Smiley
Merrie England ....Blatchford
The Labor Question .....Kuenemann
Pendragon Posers .....
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.....Engels
No Compromise .....Liebknecht
The Drift of Our Time.....Parsons
The Secret of the Rothschilds.....
Seven Financial Conspiracies.....Emery
In Hell and the Way Out.....Allen
A Philosophy of Happiness .....
The Outlook for the Artisan and His Art .....
Scientific Socialism .....Beresford
Socialism ....Liebknecht
Was It Garcia's Fault .....
The Right to Be Lazy .....Paul Lafargue

15c. Books.

Social Democracy Red Book.....Heath
Natioal Ownership of Railroads.....Vail
A Tramp in Society.....
Guernsey Market House Plan of Payments.....

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Modern Socialism .....Vail
A Story From Pullmantown.....
Man or Dollar, Which.....
Horace Greeley, Farmer, Editor, Socialist.....
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The Land Question, Property in Land and the Condition of Labor, (1 vol.).....George
Progress and Poverty .....George
Woman—Past, Present and Future .....
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Government Ownership of Railroads and Telegraph ....Louck
Evolutionary Politics ....Mills
The Co-Opolitan .....
National Party Platforms .....Frederick
Fabian Essays in Socialism .....
News From Nowhere .....
Six Centuries of Work and Wages.....
The Banker's Dream .....
History of the Paris Commune .....Benham
Socialism .....John Stewart Mill
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The Concentration of Wealth .....
In Brighter Climes .....
Caesar's Column .....Donnelly

50c. Books.

Christ, the Socialist .....
A Financial Catechism.....Brice and Vincent
Volney's Ruins .....C. F. Volney
Looking Backward .....Edward Bellamy
Equality ....Edward Bellamy
Whither Are We Drifting.....F. O. Willey
Waiting For the Signal (paper)...H. O. Morris
The Legal Revolution of 1902.....
The American Plutocracy .....M. W. Howard
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Socialism is the idea and hope of a new society founded on industrial peace and forethought, aiming at a new and higher life for all men.—William Morris.

The abolition of that individual action on which modern societies depend, and the substitution of a regulated system of co-operative action.—Imperial Dictionary.

Government and co-operation are in all things and eternally, the laws of life; anarchy and competition, eternally and in all things, the laws of death.—John Ruskin.

A theory of society that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed.—Webster.

A science of reconstructing society on entirely new basis, by substituting the principle of association for that of competition in every branch of industry.—Worcester's Dictionary.

No thinking man will contradict that associated industry is the most powerful agent of production and that the principles of association are capable of further and beneficial development.—John Stuart Mill.

[redacted] does not wish to abolish private property or accumulation of [redacted] aims to displace the present system of private capital by a collective capital, which would introduce a unified organization of labor.—Prof. Schaffle.

[redacted]ver of Socialism to the capitalist is that Society can do without [redacted]s society now does without the slave owner and the feudal lord, [redacted]e formerly regarded as necessary to the well being and even the existence of society.—Prof. W. Clarke.

[redacted]ne citizens of a large nation, industrially organized, have reached [redacted]eir happiness when the producing, distributing and other activities are [redacted]ch that each citizen finds in them a place for all his energies and aptitudes, while he obtains the means of satisfying all of his desires.—Herbert Spencer.

A theory of policy that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor through the public collective ownership of labor and capital (as distinguished from property) and the public collective management of all industries. Its motto is, "Every one according to his deeds."—Standard Dictionary.

Any theory or system of local organization which would abolish entirely or in a great part, the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute co-operation; would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor, and would make land and capital, as the instruments of production, the joint possession of the community.—Century Dictionary.

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